

THE STANDARD

VOL I.-NO. 14.

THE RANDALL FARM.

The eloquence and logic of Dr. McGlynn's recent address at the Academy of Music, and perhaps also the number and enthusiasm of his hearers, caused a profound impression on at least one of the papers that have hitherto attempted to ignore the great cause in behalf of which the orator asked his audience to take up "the cross of a new crusade." That paper acknowledged that the "address is entitled to rank with those great orations which, at critical times and from the mouths of men of genius, have swayed the course of public opinion and changed the onward movement of nations." After such a declaration and in the face of such a speech, animated by the loftiest Christian feeling, the attempt to stigmatize the doctrine of the land for the people as immoral was necessarily abandoned, but the journal in question attempted, in a patronizing way, to show that the money necessary to accomplish the objects sought could not be obtained through the taxation of land to its full rental value. The argument put forth is that the annual expenditures of our city government "are about \$32,000,000, while the aggregate value of all the real estate within the city limits, improvements included, is \$1,257,275,903. Deducting only half of this amount for the value of improvements, which is much too little, there remains \$628,637,951, and a rental of even four per cent on this sum, which would be more than could be obtained by the city government, would be only \$25,145,518, or nearly \$7,000,000 less than we now obtain."

It is certainly a great step forward to have thus had the cant and moral false pretense of the opponents of reform in taxation brushed aside and the discussion transformed to the economic aspects of the measures proposed. But in this, the first attempt in this direction, the unfairness that has marked the advocacy of the existing conditions in the earlier stages of the discussion is still displayed. No one having the slightest knowledge of the taxing system imagines for a moment that the figures of the assessment above quoted represent the selling value of the land and buildings within the city limits. On the contrary, it is universally acknowledged that the assessment does not aim to include more than sixty per cent of such value. The figures given above are, therefore, intentionally misleading, and if all of the other assumptions in the calculation quoted were admitted, the corrected figures would give a total value of \$1,760,186,264. The half of this would be \$880,093,132, and a tax of four per cent on this would yield \$35,203,725, bringing in a handsome surplus over the present expenditures as stated. Thus the argument absolutely fails the moment that one of the false premises on which it is based is corrected. But this is by no means the only false premise in the quoted statement. Not only is it a notorious fact that the assessment is designed to cover but sixty per cent of the selling value of improved property, but it is equally well known that the assessment is proportionately much lower on unimproved lots, and hence in any attempt to make it the basis for a valuation of the bare land within the city limits, it is a gross error to assume that the buildings are equal in value to the land, or even nearly equal. Again, the assumption that four per cent is the highest rental value that could be obtained by a great and growing city from the ground included within it is mere guess work, and entirely without foundation in fact. Few if any ground rents are now fixed at so low a rate, and yet occupants of property thus leased pay this rent to private claimants, and, in addition, pay to the public the full taxation imposed by the city on the land and also on the buildings that they have erected on it.

WHAT RANDALL'S FARM RENTS DEMONSTRATES.

This is not a matter of mere argument or opinion. The old Randall farm, owned by Sailor's Snug Harbor, described and illustrated in the last number of THE STANDARD, is in the heart of this city. It contains property valuable for business purposes on and adjacent to Broadway, and other property available for private residences and boarding houses. It is a fairly representative tract of the city. Its ground on Broadway will not rent for anything like the sum easily attainable for Broadway property down town, or even for property on the same street between Fourteenth and Thirtieth streets. Its land occupied by the handsome residences on Fifth avenue and Washington square cannot be compared in value with land further up Fifth avenue, while the remainder of the land, occupied by less pretentious dwellings and small stores, certainly does not yield rents equal to the average for all that portion of the city lying below Forty-second street. This is no assumption resting on guess work, but an obvious fact that will be admitted by every honest man whose avocation makes him familiar with real estate values. This estate, as has already been shown, has increased in rental value more than seventy fold during a period occupied in increasing our population to twenty times the number it had when the growth of the town toward the Randall farm began. It has been shown that this tract occupies but the one hundred and eighty-sixth part of the area of the city below Forty-second street, and that its owners, starting with practically nothing but the bare ground, have, in eighty years, been able to establish and support an extensive home for sailors, acquire many of the buildings erected by others on these lands, create a surplus of nearly a million dollars, and bring their rent roll up to \$276,196.71 in 1886, and to estimate

an increase to more than \$300,000 for the present year. It is furthermore shown that this splendid revenue has been derived solely from ground rents until quite a recent date, and that such adoptions as it have since been made arise from a surplus accumulated through ground rents.

A HUNDRED MILLIONS A YEAR.

No better basis than this can be found for making a moderate estimate of the rental value of bare land in New York city. Of course, in many cases the owner of the ground also owns the building. In no such case, however, does the selling value of the bare land fail to become an important factor in fixing the rent, while the shorter leases in such cases enable the owner to tax the increase in value more frequently than is possible under the long Snug Harbor leases. It is therefore certain that such owners obtain a higher ground rent than is yielded to the trustees of the Sailors' Snug Harbor by the five per cent paid to them on valuations of their land made every twenty-one years. The estimate based on their experience must therefore fall short of the total amount of ground rents derived by private individuals, estates and corporations from the possession of the soil of New York city. Taking, then, as the basis for such calculation, the actual rents from the Randall farm for 1886 and omitting all other income, it is clear that the ground rents for that portion of this city south of Forty-second street were at least, for that year, 186 times \$276,196.71, or \$51,072,588, or, taking the whole revenue as a basis, over \$55,000,000. This is no guess work, but a safe and moderate calculation based on actual business experience. For reasons already given it is manifest that this is much below the amount for the whole of that area. It is therefore clear a ground rent on the bare land of the lower half of Manhattan island can and does yield to somebody more than \$50,000,000 a year, an amount to be increased for the present year (1887), according to the Snug Harbor estimates, to \$55,451,715. But large as are these figures they fail to indicate what it is possible for the city to derive from a tax that shall appropriately to public use the full rental value of land. The people who paid the sums to the Snug Harbor trustees as a five per cent rent on the values of the Randall farm, also paid the city taxes amounting to about half as much more. It is therefore evident that the city and the owners together are able to obtain fully \$75,000,000 out of the land of this island below Forty-second street; and it is certainly a moderate estimate that the land above that street would, if thus taxed to its full rental value, yield half as much more, and thus give to the public \$100,000,000 a year, \$32,000,000 of which is now taken by the city and \$98,000,000 by private individuals. However great an allowance may be made for a reduction of rental values through the stimulus given to building by the encouragement given to the use of land now held vacant, the necessary remainder will still be great enough to show how absurd is an estimate of \$25,000,000 as the full ground rent of this city, while actual experience shows how erroneous is the declaration that four per cent is the maximum that the city could levy as a land tax.

FUTURE INCREASE OF REVENUE.

The advocates of the land for the people doctrine are not, however, to confine themselves to the consideration of present land values. There is not a land speculator in New York who does not know that the marvelously rapid rise in these values in the past is sure to continue in the future. So certain is this that millions of dollars have been unhesitatingly staked upon it. The income from the Randall farm has increased more than seventy fold during the past eighty years. The testimony of the late Edward H. Ludlow, recently quoted in THE STANDARD, showed that the gross value of the land of this city had increased *more than a thousand millions of dollars* during his lifetime. The total income of the Snug Harbor estate has increased over one hundred and thirty-eight per cent during the past sixteen years, and the last annual report of the trustees contains an estimate of income for the present year showing that the increase in rents for 1887 over that of 1886 will be more than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, a ratio but little below that of the past sixteen years. If so much can thus be done under private ownership, how much more can be done when the vast revenue derived from the land shall be expended in public improvements and in other additions to the comfort and attractiveness of city life? "Cold arithmetic," so far from playing havoc with the attractive picture drawn by Dr. McGlynn in his address on "The Cross of a New Crusade," fortifies all of his statements, and opens up a vista that even enthusiasts may well hesitate to attempt to describe.

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS.

The history of the Randall farm answers most of the queries propounded by the ignorant and incredulous as to the practical working of the proposed system of land taxation. It proves that men will not only build upon and improve property not their own, but that they will contract in advance to pay rental, in time, on the increased values created by themselves and others, and to surrender at an appraised price the improvements that they have themselves made. Here is a copy of a clause that appears in the Snug Harbor leases:

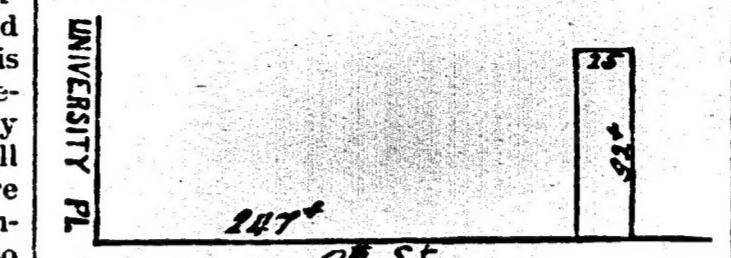
It is hereby mutually covenanted and agreed, that if, at the expiration of the term hereby granted the said parties hereto shall agree upon a renewal of this lease for a further term of twenty-one years, and shall by mutual consent fix upon the annual ground rent to be reserved in such renewed lease, then the said parties of the first part, their successors or assigns, shall and will execute to the said party of the second part his executors, administrators or assigns, at his or their expense, a new lease of the aforesaid

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1887.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

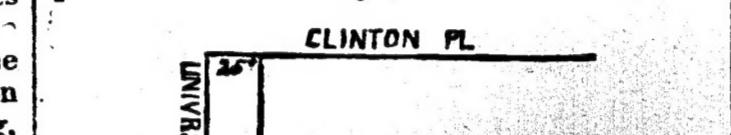
Louisa Van Rensselaer for twenty-one years at \$500 a year.

The next lot is in the same block, a few doors east of the one last described.



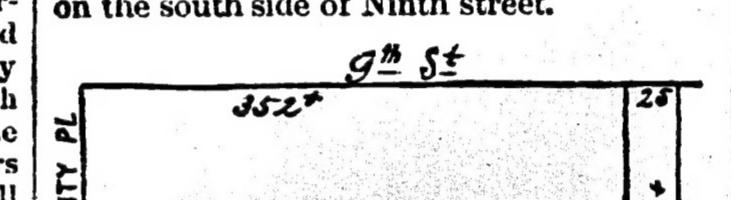
This was leased May 1, 1844, to Barzillai Deming for twenty-one years at \$175 a year; on May 1, 1865, to Hiram Geer, executor of Margaret Geer, deceased, for twenty-one years at \$400 per year, and in May 1, 1886, to Sarah A. De Venny for twenty-one years at \$500 a year.

The next lot is at the corner of Clinton place and University place.



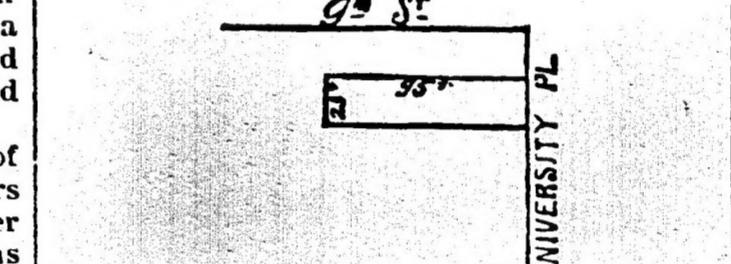
It was leased May 1, 1835, to Edgar Jenkins for seventeen years at \$168.50 a year; on Nov. 1, 1852, to Morgan L. Smith for twenty-one years at \$300 a year, and on Nov. 1, 1873, to the same for twenty-one years at \$750 a year.

The next lease examined is that of a lot on the south side of Ninth street.



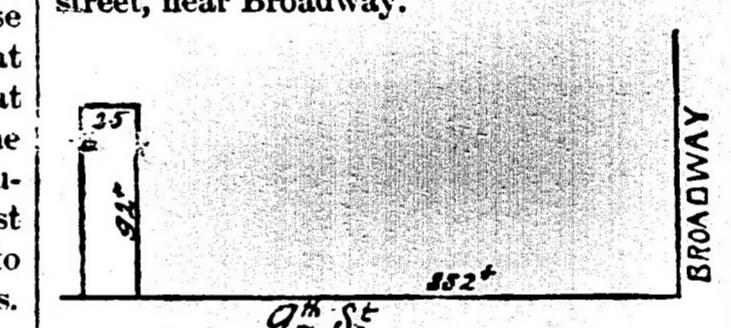
It was leased May 1, 1833, to Gordon Burnham for twenty-one years at \$100 a year; on May 1, 1854, to Ross W. Wood for twenty-one years at \$200 a year, and on May 1, 1875, to the same for \$500 a year.

The next property is on University place.



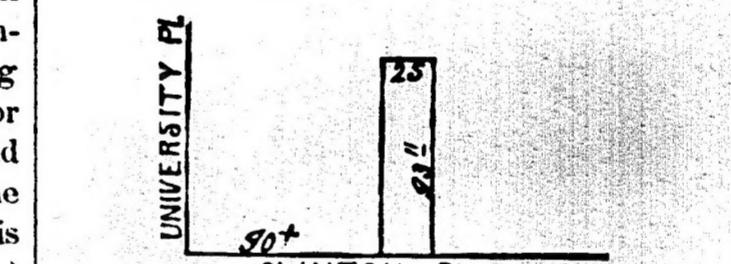
It was leased Nov. 1, 1841, for thirteen and a half years to Anson Baker for \$72 a year; on May 1, 1855, to the same for twenty-one years at \$200 a year, and on May 1, 1876, to the same for twenty-one years at \$600 a year.

The next lot is on the north side of Ninth street, near Broadway.



It was leased May 1, 1855, to Marcus S. Hutton for twenty-one years at \$200 a year, and again leased to him May 1, 1876, for twenty-one years at \$500 a year.

The next lot is on Clinton place, near University place.



It was leased May 1, 1855, to Ann Bunker for twenty-one years at \$200 a year, and again on May 25, 1885, to Albertina Matthews and Caroline Homer for eleven years eleven months and five days at \$500 a year.

The next leases are representative of the less valuable property of the estate, and do not include any property on Broadway or Washington square. They show that the rental value of the land has tripled during the past forty or forty-five years, the increase varying with the location. In a few instances the same person has held through a twenty-one years' lease and made a renewal, but usually death or some other cause has prevented this. It appears, however, that no serious difficulties have been encountered in such cases in making transfers, since the property was taken at the expiration of the lease at as high a rental as was paid by those who held on through a period of twenty-one years and then renewed the lease.

On Broadway the advance in rents, though not proportionately so great, reaches figures that enable one to understand the enormous growth in the income of the estate. The block bounded by Ninth and Tenth streets, Broadway and Fourth avenue, was leased to A. T. Stewart on May 1, 1869, for twenty-one years, with the privilege of renewal, at an annual rent of \$12,000 for the first four years, and at an annual rent of \$36,000 for the remaining seventeen years. At the time this negotiation began there were some twenty odd leases of lots on this block made to divers persons from 1848 to 1852, yielding to the trustees an aggregate rent of \$5,220. Mr. Stewart bought these leases up and surrendered them to the trustees, and then received a lease for the whole block on the terms stated. The trustees, it will be seen, did nothing, but the tenant rendered an enormous service to the estate and agreed to a great increase of rent for the more privilege of occupying the bare ground.

A lot one hundred feet deep, having a front of twenty-five feet on Broadway, was leased in May, 1850, to James Blackstock for twenty-one years at \$275 per annum, and this lease was renewed May 1, 1871, for twenty-one years at an annual rent of \$3,700. The lot at the southeast corner of Broadway and Ninth street, having a front of

23 feet 4 inches on Broadway and of 93 feet 11 inches on Ninth street (now occupied by Fredricks, the photographer), was leased Nov. 1, 1852, to George P. Parker for twenty-one years at an annual rental of \$600. It was again leased Nov. 1, 1873, to Elizabeth M. Campbell, administratrix of George P. Parker, for twenty-one years at a rent of \$3,500 a year.

A lot 100 feet deep, with a front of 23 feet, on the east side of Broadway, above Eighth street, was leased in May, 1850, to Samuel R. Johnson at an annual rent of \$225, and the lease was renewed on May 1, 1871, at a rent of \$3,250 a year. Large as the increases on the rental of the ground occupied by Stewart's store appears, it was not proportionately so great as the increase of rent on these small lots, on which rent advanced tenfold in twenty-one years.

BUILDINGS ON THE PROPERTY.

New Yorkers are familiar with the many conspicuous buildings on the Snug Harbor tract, but readers outside of the city will be interested in knowing that some of the finest buildings in the city have been erected on this old farm, on which the bare ground of a single lot, 25x100 feet, now rents for more than a fair-sized farm devoted to agricultural purposes and improved by buildings. On Broadway, occupying the whole block from that street to Fourth avenue, and from Ninth to Tenth streets, stands the great iron building erected by A. T. Stewart, and still commonly known as "Stewart's up-town store." A block below, on Broadway, stands the Sinclair house, a well known hotel, and adjoining it is the handsome and costly building owned by Mr. Potter and occupied as a large clothing house. Opposite the Sinclair house is the handsome building erected by the Snug Harbor trustees and occupied by Dodd, Mead & Co., the publishers. On the same side of Broadway are the well known retail dry-goods houses of Daniels & Son and Kaughman & Co. On Waverly place, between University place and Fifth avenue (known as North Washington square), stands a solid and handsome row of dwelling houses, in what was some years ago the most fashionable residential part of New York, and which is still one of the most desirable and costly places of residence in the city. On the Fifth avenue front of the Randall farm stands the famous Brewster house. The Church of the Strangers on Mercer street, half a block from the New York hotel, stands on the property, as does also the building on University place formerly occupied by the Union Theological seminary. Clinton place (Eighth street) and Ninth street, from Broadway to Fifth avenue, run through the property, and are lined with dwelling houses from three to four stories in height and very largely used as boarding houses. In fact, this little farm now has a population of thousands, and in numbers, business activity and in the style of buildings surpasses many of the smaller cities of the country. Not a foot of this land has ever been sold to any of the occupants who have covered it with fine buildings, and, of course, no such sale can be made. Had this unearned increment gone to the people who created it, not only in this but in all cases, this city would have been burdened with no debt, no taxation could have been borne by its inhabitants beyond an amount equal to that which they have paid as rents to private individuals and the activity and enterprise of the metropolis would have made it not only the greatest city, but the most comfortable place of residence on the continent.

HOW THIS INCREASE IN VALUES IS BROUGHT ABOUT.

The increase in the value of the Randall farm has been manifestly brought about solely by the pressure of population, supplemented by the labor and capital of the tenants. There is not as much as a peg on which to hang a doubt in the case. An old man about to die, some eighty years ago, was in doubt as to what disposal he should make of his property. He accepted the suggestion of his counsel that he should devote its income to the maintenance of disabled seamen. He named as his executors and trustees a number of men occupying positions to which they were appointed without any thought that they would be thus associated in the control of this property. Many of them are men having no claim to special sagacity in business or to any peculiar fitness for the management of real estate. The claim of prescience or shrewdness often set up in behalf of private owners of land cannot be made here. All that these men had to do was maintain their grip on twenty-one acres of Manhattan island and wait for the community to do the rest. They made no outlay on the property. They opened no streets, graded no lots, built no sewers, paid for no light or water. All of that, by the terms of every lease, they made their tenants oblige themselves to do. The owners of the property built no houses on the land. That also was done by the tenants. As soon as these tenants had built so many as ten houses every remaining vacant lot on the Randall farm had an increased rental value, which went, not to the builders of the houses, but to the owners of the land. Without ceasing, though varying from time to time, this increase has gone on, and the estimates for the coming year show that it is still going on. The people who cause it do not obtain one cent of the increase in the rental value of this land. It all goes to the trustees, who make no pretense of doing anything to bring it about, and through them, ultimately, it goes to the sailors who are so comfortably taken care of down at Snug Harbor. It would be difficult to find a more perfect illustration of how the whole community causes the increase in land values, or one

more fully demonstrating how a few landowners, who render no service whatever in return, absorb the whole of such increase. In this case the revenue thus obtained is devoted to a charitable purpose. But this is but the one hundred and eighty-sixth part of Manhattan island below Forty-second street. From the vast remainder of the area now included within the city limits thousands of private land owners, who, as such, render no service to the community, draw yearly tens of millions of dollars of income from values created by the whole community, just as the existing values of the Randall farm have been created by the community. Every consideration of justice, equity and social progress demands that this process shall be stopped, and the advocates of the new system, so far from being subject to the reproach of a immoral attack on the rights of property, may justly claim that they are the only people having the sagacity to perceive and the courage to oppose the continuance of a system that enables a favored class to appropriate that which it has no hand in bringing into existence, and to rob others of the fruits of their labor. The injustice that has been done cannot now be undone, but every delay that greed or ignorance is able to interpose to the recovery by the people of that increase in values, which they are still creating from day to day, is a crime against the most sacred rights of property and a blow at the rights, the happiness, the freedom and the prosperity of generations yet unborn.

MR. WILSON BARRETT'S HAMLET.

How Its Presentation Affected One of the Audience—A Master Impersonation.

The time was Monday night last, the place the Star theater. I was one of a large audience gathered to see Wilson Barrett play Hamlet.

The curtain rose and showed the stage dressed to represent a platform before the Castle of Elsinore. A shifting of scenes, and an apartment in the palace was before us; another shifting, and we saw the platform once again. The scenery was the perfection of illusion, the players were perfect in their parts, but there was with me a constant sense that it was scenery and play acting I was looking at. I saw an actor playing Hamlet on a stage, and my mind was critically questioning, Would the real Hamlet have behaved thus in presence of the ghost? or would the real Polonius have so delivered himself of those parting words to his son?

The curtain fell and rose again, the scenes shifted, the action of the play proceeded, and gradually there stole upon me a feeling as though the whole thing were real. I ceased to question whether Shakespeare's Hamlet would have done thus and so—the real Hamlet was before me, and could have done no other than he did; and when he drew near Ophelia, with words of tenderness just trembling to his lips, and glancing at the arras that concealed the spires, knew himself betrayed and mocked, and burst into that agony of gibing self tormenting scorn!—ah! then my soul went out to him, as to a man whose torn, bleeding, grieving heart was bared before me—and the stage vanished, and thenceforth Hamlet was a living presence.

ARCHBISHOPAL FOLLY.

WARNING DR. MCGLYNN'S FRIENDS AND SENTENCING DR. CURRAN.

Archbishop Corrigan Rapidly Alienating the Friends who Stood in Awe of His Office—Father Curran not yet Convinced of Any Error in His Political Ways—Brave Words from Rev. Sylvester Malone—"The Priests Think the Archbishop's Conduct is Outrageous"—Catholic Priests are American Citizens—Another Overflowing Meeting of St. Stephen's Parishioners.

Those of the Catholic clergy under Archbishop Corrigan's jurisdiction who have exhibited their courageous and independent character and devotion to American citizenship by attending the reverend doctor's lecture at the Academy of Music have been either admonished of what is termed their contumacy or subjected to a more severe form of punishment. There has also been a threat of a further exhibition of ecclesiastical authority in St. Stephen's parish, which, however, has only had the effect of intensifying the feeling of opposition there to the archbishop, and increasing the number of Dr. McGlynn's friends. It was not to be expected that any punishment that the archbishop could inflict would convert to his views the priests who testified to their sympathy with Dr. McGlynn by their presence at his lecture. Not only do all of them still hold the same opinions that they did before being made to feel the weight of the archbishop's hand, but it may be said without much risk of exaggeration that the priests of the city almost as a body have been ranged on the side of Dr. McGlynn through the persistence of their prelate in his determination to smother the rising flame of discontent by the high-handed exercise of ecclesiastical police powers. In interviews with reporters for the press, and in conversation with members of their congregation, a large number of priests have shown that they are reflecting on the possibilities that they may be called on to face should they ever feel it their duty to differ in political opinions with a narrow-minded superior in the church, and the reflection seems to be not a comfortable one. The uneasiness thus caused among the priesthood dismukes them to exert their authority to subdue the serious agitation prevailing during the past week in the local Catholic world. The course that the archbishop has laid down for himself, and the effect it has upon the Catholic laity and his subordinates in the church, can be readily seen by reviewing the experience of Dr. Curran for the week.

On the day after Dr. McGlynn's lecture at the Academy of Music, Rev. Dr. James Curran returned to Ellenville, Ulster county, the village to which he had been sent by the archbishop's orders when the latter discovered that Dr. Curran had not been sufficiently disciplined by being transferred from St. Stephen's to St. Patrick's parish. At Ellenville the doctor was performing temporarily the duties of pastor, the priest regularly in charge of the parish being absent. Ellenville, Liberty and Wurtsboro are all attended by one priest, mass being celebrated in the three places on successive Sundays. The congregations are small and the importance of the work to be done is not to be compared with that engaged in by Dr. Curran in assisting in the administration of St. Stephen's. The intention of the archbishop in sending Dr. Curran to a rural parish was no doubt to humiliate him. It seems, however, that honors, instead of disgrace, awaited the doctor, for arrangements had been made by the Knights of Labor of Ellenville and the vicinity to attend in a body the doctor's services of the stations of the cross on last Friday evening. There were indications, also, that other public demonstrations of the good will of the people would follow. But the archbishop's action of Thursday put an end to the proposed visit of the knights, or postponed it, at least, for a time. Dr. Curran, on receiving on that day the fatherly instruction of the archbishop to go into spiritual retreat at the monastery of the Passionist Fathers at West Hoboken, immediately repaired to this city, and early on Friday evening the doors of that religious house closed upon him. Since that time he has not been outside its walls.

The doctor has not suffered, however, for company or sympathy. He seems not to have been considered a culprit in the eyes of the good monks, the father provincial having invited him to celebrate the community mass soon after his arrival. On Sunday morning the street car lines running to the monastery from the Hoboken ferry carried crowds of visitors to the reverend prisoner. At the monastery there are two reception rooms, one on each side of the entrance to the building. Dr. Curran, after repairing to one of these rooms to meet the first of his friends to arrive, was kept in one or other of them receiving visitors almost the entire day. He would barely have time to greet one room full of people and say a few words to them, when he would be called to see a host of friends in the other room. The first would then be vacated, to be quickly filled with another crowd. Many of the visitors brought flowers. Among those who called were a party from Ellenville. Some of the visitors had believed exaggerated stories of the doctor's punishment. "Oh, father," said one sympathetic woman, "do they make you sleep on a cold stone for a bed? I heard that you had two rough stones for pillows, too, and that they whipped you with a strap over the back every night before you went to bed." But the doctor declared that he slept very well on a good bed and was subjected to no physical discipline. "Let me look at your hands," said a doubting woman, who expected to see the marks of a whip on them.

The doctor's friends have continued to call on him during the week. They did not find a very contrite man. They saw one whose cheerfulness and buoyancy of spirits were not easily to be disturbed. In speaking of the archbishop the doctor uniformly exhibited a proper reverence for his superior's authority in those respects in which the prelate is his superior, but in regard to what he may do in exercising the rights of a citizen it is plain that he acknowledges no higher authority than his own will and conscience. Indeed, he looks upon the archbishop's attitude on the question at issue as ridiculous and refers to it, if at all, in a humorous vein. He has no thought of looking upon the archbishop as one wielding the thunders of a Jove or of seriously regarding himself as a martyr. He is a secular priest. His obligations to his archbishop are well defined. He is under no vows of domestic discipline. He has confidence that his will be the winning side in the end. Moreover, he feels that his congregation, the great majority of the Catholics of New York, and the mass of his Protestant and Catholic fellow citizens throughout the country, are in sympathy with him. While the doctor will

not view his persecutions in a dolorous way, it is evident that accompanying his good humor and serenity there is a firm will and an intelligence that make him the philosopher and man that he is, and impart to him a supreme confidence that he and his fellow rebels of the priesthood will achieve the success at which they aim.

WHAT THE PRIESTS SAY.

Chafing Under the Archbishop's Tyranny and Looking to Rome for Relief.

Although there has been no public demonstration of the clerical opposition to the archbishop, it is by no means difficult to cite facts tending to show what the majority of the priests of the archdiocese think of him. A priest of the church was speaking of the archbishop's course last week with the bishop of a diocese in a neighboring state. The bishop said: "I never thought that Bishop Corrigan was so simple." "Why so simple?" asked the priest. "I did not think he would go so far. Well, some people seem to lose all common sense when they get my authority." Another priest was traveling last week in a railway train and found that the treatment of Dr. Curran was an absorbing topic with the passengers. One of them said to him: "Do you know that Dr. Curran is worth a hundred thousand dollars to your cause? He is, and the reason of it is because he never gets angry." The reporters are spoken to freely by the priests, but they have not yet accustomed themselves to publicity save in connection with their pastoral duties, and usually request that their names be withheld from print. The *Morning Journal* of last Saturday stated that a reporter of that paper had found men in St. Stephen's parish who had not taken any part whatever in the controversy up to that time who characterized the last move of the archbishop in the strongest of adverse terms. "Many of the Catholic clergy in the adjoining parishes did not scruple to say that the archbishop's action afforded ample cause and excuse for a revolt on the part of his priests. One of these gentlemen even hinted to the reporter that a petition protesting against what they consider arbitrary conduct and demanding the removal of the archbishop from the diocese will be prepared for the signature of the masses of the people! Great changes are sure to come."

"What is now required," continued the reverend father, "is to break down prejudice, and those who were in sympathy with the conflict for the freeing of the negroes will, when they come to understand it, give their hearty sympathy to this cause, which has for its aim the lifting up of the poor and humble class and the elevation of American citizenship. I urge this among my people and especially on the rich, who have peculiar advantages, and I urge them, as a duty to themselves and to their country, to study these matters. I believe all that Dr. McGlynn uttered in his address the other night, as it is founded on truth; and I look upon Henry George as translating into political economy and civil government the doctrines always inculcated by my church; and I hold that the rich man is a steward under almighty God, and that he will have to render an account of his stewardship, that is, the use he has made of the natural opportunities that God put in his hands. I see a very rapid progression in popular ideas everywhere, and look for a great change very soon. For instance, in talking the other day with a distinguished citizen of Brooklyn, he said to me: 'I believe God made the whole world for all of his children' and I told him that that was the primary principle of our belief, and that he would soon be a good George man. He takes the STANDARD and is giving attention to the subject. I am not astonished at this, as he is a young man of means who has always used his advantages to benefit his less fortunate fellows, and it is natural that he should be attached to these great reforms."

Father Malone said there were many men like this gentleman who were thinking, and they would soon come to see that until capital and labor understood and accepted the policy of Henry George, Dr. McGlynn and other priests would continue to suffer. As for his own affiliation with the "new crusade" he said: "If I gave so much energy of years ago for the liberation of the negro from slavery, should I not now do the same for my own people? Should I not strive in the land of my adoption, to which my sympathies go out in love, for the removal of all those evils which subject the masses to misery?" This, he said, was doing, and this he would continue to do. "If before or at the beginning of the war, when I stood all but alone for abolition, I had been interfered with or knocked down," said he, "the cause with which so many now sympathize would have suffered to the extent of my influence; and so now, to oppose those who lead in this movement of the masses will be to deter a cause which will, when it is understood, call for widespread approval."

fifty priests had not sat upon that platform when Father McGlynn was stating those great principles. They feel highly indignant and talk very forcibly among themselves, and this feeling is not only held by the priests but also by the laymen. I am receiving many marks of approval for my public expressions of dissent from the actions of Archbishop Corrigan. A priest said to me yesterday, "Father Malone, your denunciation was like a bombshell in the enemies' camp."

"You may say that I dread this policy pursued in New York the more, as I have grave apprehensions of the return of know-nothingism. In 1854, while a mob here was twisting the cross off the iron fence before my church I was in Rome, and in a conversation with Mr. Frederick Lucas, editor of the London *Tablet*, I said that this know-nothingism which was sweeping the country was a great political movement which Catholic institutions would survive. I knew public temper, because I went personally among the people and learned their views and reasoned with them. And now recognize a great political and social movement in the rise of the Knights of Labor, in the growth of the labor party, and in the widespread, intelligent and temperate discussion of the first principles of law and order. By narrow and ignorant opposition to this vast movement much injury can be done to the church, and I may say that Monsignor Preston has already done us more injury than he could have done had he remained a Protestant. I fear the return of know-nothingism, and if the priests here do not petition Rome to change this policy they will discover that every day alienates Catholics from the church."

"But," he continued, "great movements must go on in spite of individuals. There were always extreme men, even Wendell Phillips proclaimed the constitution in league with hell. There are always weak-kneed men who drag back. But what is this opposition to a great, honest movement of the masses of the people? Great changes are sure to come."

"What is now required," continued the reverend father, "is to break down prejudice, and those who were in sympathy with the conflict for the freeing of the negroes will, when they come to understand it, give their hearty sympathy to this cause, which has for its aim the lifting up of the poor and humble class and the elevation of American citizenship. I urge this among my people and especially on the rich, who have peculiar advantages, and I urge them, as a duty to themselves and to their country, to study these matters. I believe all that Dr. McGlynn uttered in his address the other night, as it is founded on truth; and I look upon Henry George as translating into political economy and civil government the doctrines always inculcated by my church; and I hold that the rich man is a steward under almighty God, and that he will have to render an account of his stewardship, that is, the use he has made of the natural opportunities that God put in his hands. I see a very rapid progression in popular ideas everywhere, and look for a great change very soon. For instance, in talking the other day with a distinguished citizen of Brooklyn, he said to me: 'I believe God made the whole world for all of his children' and I told him that that was the primary principle of our belief, and that he would soon be a good George man. He takes the STANDARD and is giving attention to the subject. I am not astonished at this, as he is a young man of means who has always used his advantages to benefit his less fortunate fellows, and it is natural that he should be attached to these great reforms."

The *Herald* of Tuesday in a news article said: "Strange to say, Catholic laymen, whose names are more or less well known to the public, while speaking freely on the subject, have wincing at the thought of having their names published in connection with the interview. A Jesuit priest to whom the circumstance was mentioned said that these gentlemen had not the courage of their convictions, and regretted that they did not show the same independence of character as their Protestant fellow citizens. If they had, added, the Catholic church would be more respected in this country than it is." In the same article an interview with Rev. Sylvester Malone was published and the statement made that a number of priests spoke in a strain similar to that of Dr. Malone, but only on condition that their names should not be published. On the day following the same paper contained the following: "The article in yesterday's *Herald* seems to have given great satisfaction to numbers of the Catholic clergy. Said one of them to the reporter: 'It is hard to condemn us for not expressing our opinions over our own names. But let the public take into consideration that we are poor and powerless, and outside the press have no help, no one to plead our cause. No curate in this city gets more than \$600 a year, and only that after three years' service. No rector has more than \$500 a year. We have to live and cannot afford to antagonize our superiors. The priests the *Herald* interviewed yesterday voiced the sentiments of the majority."

The collections at St. Stephen's church on Palm Sunday have always been large, the money being appropriated to the liquidation of the church debt or to some other specified purpose. On last Sunday the usual efforts were made to raise a good collection, but the total sum taken up was less than four dollars. In the galleries, where several priests personally carried the baskets, only four cents were collected. The congregation usually contributed about \$3,500 on this day when Dr. McGlynn had charge.

The story that Archbishop Corrigan hastened to St. Patrick's church on last Friday evening in order to rescind his order directing Dr. Curran to go to the monastery, and that, not finding the doctor there, "his grace trotted off to one or two other places" to find him, is certainly true in so far as the fact that the archbishop made a hasty call at St. Patrick's on the evening in question. The dignity of the archbishop continues to suffer from his pedagogic methods.

A "down town Catholic clergyman" has been quoted in the *Herald* as saying that a party of Catholic priests opposed Father Tom Burke in 1853 because he was an Irishman and a foreigner. One of the priests mentioned in the article says that the statements are untrue.

THE WISDOM OF A SAGE.

Words of Truth Falling Like Pearls From the Lips of Venerable Sylvester Malone.

Rev. Sylvester Malone of Brooklyn occupied a front seat in one of the proscenium boxes during the lecture of Dr. McGlynn at the Academy of Music, and applauded lustily the most radical utterances of that fearless speaker. So far from being daunted by the persecution of Father Curran and the reprobation of the other priests within the jurisdiction of the archbishop of New York, he is hotly defiant, and brands such actions as unjust and tyrannical.

Father Malone is one of the patriarchs of the Catholic priesthood in Brooklyn, and no priest is more respected for independence and courage in delivering his opinion upon matters, civil or ecclesiastical, where it does not conflict with the doctrines of the church. He is, and has been for more than thirty years, pastor of St. Peter and St. Paul's church in Brooklyn, E. D., and has, since the days when Williamsburg was a separate town, been a leader of public opinion in that locality. The reverend father talked freely to a STANDARD representative relative to the policy pursued by the archbishop of New York in dragging politics into religion, and said, substantially, what follows:

"Archbishop Corrigan has no right whatever to interfere with Dr. McGlynn in the exercise of his political opinions, freedom to express which his American citizenship entitled him, and it appears to me that there are enough Catholics in the United States to sustain Father McGlynn. This they can do without compromising themselves as Catholics. As for sentencing Father Curran to ten days' discipline in the Passionists' monastery, the people have expressed their just contempt of such ecclesiastical rule by stigmatizing the institution by naming it 'the bastile'—a strange name, indeed.

"What do the priests think? They say that such conduct is outrageous. Why, a young priest came to me and deplored the fact that

country of savages draws its most degraded priest and his conclusions concern no one above or below him in authority. The talk about Dr. McGlynn having put himself outside the pale of the church is all nonsense. Why, there was not the first un-Catholic sentiment in his lecture the other night, so far as the reports of it show, and I have read them all. Strictly speaking, the doctor can secure his reinstatement any time. He has been dismissed without a trial, and any time he demands a trial he will have to be first reinstated. The case in a sense is in his own hands. Why does he not appeal to Rome? Because I judge, he intends to let the other side act first in the matter. He is waiting to see what they do. Dr. McGlynn knows what he is about, I assure you, and when his case has received a full examination at Rome I am confident that he will be reinstated."

Similar views were expressed by others in sympathy with Dr. McGlynn, one of whom claimed that there were at least a hundred priests in this diocese who endorsed the stand taken by the doctor, but avoided expressing their views through fear of causing trouble to themselves and the church.

DR. CURRAN NOT DEEPLY PENTENT.

He Talks With a "Sun" Reporter About His Case and Dr. McGlynn.

Sun, Sunday.

The Rev. Dr. James Curran, formerly the assistant of Dr. McGlynn at St. Stephen's, is not repenting very vigorously in the monastery of the Passionist Fathers at Hoboken, to which he has been sent for ten days because he appeared on the platform at the McGlynn meeting in the Academy of Music last Tuesday evening. There is a popular notion that connects penance in a monastery with fasting, seclusion and silence, and even occasional resort to leather scourge. No doubt a penitent might adopt all these things if he wanted to, but Dr. Curran does not consider himself a penitent, and he came down into the little reception room at the monastery looking as half and pleasant as ever, and talked for an hour with a reporter of the *Sun*.

"I am not doing penance," he said, "for I do not consider that I have done wrong. This retreat means nothing more than a voluntary retreat. My time is my own. I shall use it for study and reading and religious exercises. I said mass this morning in one of the little chapels, and I am sure there is nothing in this little stay here the least bit disagreeable. It is a punishment, certainly, I am sent here to give me a chance to reflect on my conduct, and I have always tried to be a good priest and to do my duty. I willingly obeyed the order to come here, but it is a question whether the archbishop can be justified in ordering me here. The question is one that has a broader application in the case of Dr. McGlynn, and how it will be settled I don't know."

"Do you expect to see Dr. McGlynn reinstated?"

"I hope to. Dr. McGlynn would have gone to Rome the moment his health permitted if he could have gone as a reinstated priest. There is where the trouble is."

"Will he go at all?"

"It is reasonably certain that he will not go until he is once more a priest in statu quo."

Dr. Curran then returned to his own case, and told the story of the discipline he had incurred at the hands of the archbishop. He said that his removal from St. Stephen's, where he had labored for twelve years, was due to his friendship for Dr. McGlynn. "I was sent to St. Patrick's, in Mulberry street," he continued, "and I was happy there and tried to do my duty. Father Kearney and all the clergy there were, I thought, very kind to me. One evening, it was March 25, Father Kearney met me in the hall and said the archbishop wanted to see me. 'Very well,' I said, and I told him I would go up to the grand jury against the archbishop for his interference with the rights of American citizens." By Dr. De Leon—"Dr. McGlynn is not a disturber of the public peace. He is a man who seeks to soothe the agitated minds of the oppressed of the universal brotherhood of man." By Mr. McMackin—"It is said that religion and politics should not mix. Why, did the archbishop cause to be distributed, on the Sunday before last fall's election, a document fresh from the pen of the Tammany politician, Frederic R. Coudert? and why the influence of John J. Donoghue at the archiepiscopal palace? Democratic politicians in this community have an influence in the church through the members of their families that are in the priesthood. The prominence of the Corrigan family in Newark is based on wealth largely accumulated through liquor dens in Newark, and the Donnelly family drew money from a like source in Beaver street, New York. Rev. Mr. Donnelly's brother was treasurer of Tammany hall for years. Class rules the machinery of the church in many instances in this city."

VIEWS OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

The Talk About Dr. McGlynn Being Outside the Pale of the Church All Nonsense—At Least a Hundred Priests Believed to Endorse His Stand—His Suspension Assured Us All.

Tribune, Sunday.

There has been a marked revival of public interest in the Knights of Labor and the case of Dr. McGlynn during the last week. The advanced position taken by Cardinal Gibbons at Rome in regard to the order, the vigorous endorsement of his views by Cardinal Manning and the appearance of Dr. McGlynn at the Academy of Music in the role of a public lecturer in his own behalf and that of laboring men generally, are the three most conspicuous incidents that have drawn general attention again toward these interesting and peculiar matters.

The case of the suspended pastor of St. Stephen's church and that of the Knights of Labor are associated in the minds of most people, and not without some degree of reason, since it is almost certain that if this organization is approved or blessed by the pope Dr. McGlynn will hardly be condemned. On the other hand, should the party represented by Cardinal Taschereau prevail at the Vatican, it is hardly possible to suppose that such an ecclesiastical champion of the knights as the doctor has been, and still is, will come off victorious. Besides this, it is now pretty well understood that the same pretenses, or many of them at least, who are pleading for the knights are also advocating the doctor's cause before the holy see. In other words, both subjects are practically involved in the great labor question upon which the Roman Catholic church is expected to define its position clearly, when once the matter has been fully investigated and passed upon by the council now deliberating in Rome.

"Cardinal Gibbons' plea for the knights expresses my views completely," said one of the best known priests of the city, who seldom consents to talk for publication, "and I think I may say, those of the great majority of the most intelligent Roman Catholics, both clerical and lay, of America. I have studied what he said carefully, and agree with Father Ducey in saying that there is nothing in them contradicting the safe and conservative spirit of the church. They are Catholic to the core and thoroughly American as well. There is not the slightest taint of demagogery about them, and to attribute any unworthy motive to their distinguished author is simply contemptible."

"The archbishop is quoted as saying that if you persist in your conduct severe measures will be used."

"Well, I have a conscience, and I must do what I think to be right. I will obey my superiors at all times if I can. I cannot yet see the error of my ways."

OPINIONS CANNOT BE IMPRISONED.

Dr. Curran Thinks Rome Will Settle the Question.

The Star of Monday contained the report of an interview with Dr. Curran, of which the following is an extract:

"Archbishops and bishops," said Dr. Curran, "have a certain amount of authority over priests, and have a perfect right to order them wherever they choose, and have also the right to exercise the powers in the matter of discipline conferred upon them, provided the offending priest has committed some offense. So far as my case is concerned, I have committed no offense, and do not think I deserve punishment."</p

against him, but it was not until he pleaded the cause of Ireland that he was censured by the propaganda. The reason for this censure is plain. It was in 1882 that the English agent, Errington, was in Rome and exercised great influence over the Roman authorities. His aim was to secure the interference of the propaganda in Irish affairs, so as to restrict the right of priests to aid the nationalists in Ireland or their sympathizers in America. He had almost, if not quite, won over the propaganda to his views when the pope, as in the present case, took the matter into his own hands, and instead of placing an ultra-English bishop at Dublin appointed to that see, in the person of Dr. Walsh, a man who was in hearty and patriotic sympathy with Ireland in her struggles for home rule. This action of the pope virtually excommunicated Errington in Rome, and as virtually exonerated Dr. McGlynn from the censures which no doubt the influence of Errington had inspired. Now in Archbishop Corrigan's statement there is no attempt to conceal the fact that he strongly sympathized with the views urged at Rome by Errington. At heart he was opposed to the Irish home rule wing, and in the defeat of the English intriguer's plans he was himself defeated. It was not unnatural, therefore, that he should hide his time for a better opportunity to silence Dr. McGlynn. That occasion came in the recent effort to elect Henry George mayor of New York. Dr. McGlynn not only espoused Mr. George's candidacy, but endorsed his peculiar views on the ownership of land. This was the archbishop's opportunity. He ordered the priest to keep silence.

It is not my purpose to discuss the truth or falsity of Mr. George's theories. . . . "But the question is not has Dr. McGlynn spoken well and wisely, but had he the right to speak at all? Does the fact that he is a priest of the Roman Catholic church deprive him of the fundamental rights of an American citizen, namely, the right freely to express his opinion on political matters, and to use his influence to secure the election to office of men whom he regards best fitted to rule? Must an American citizen because he is a clergyman answer for his political conduct to an ecclesiastical court in a foreign land, thousands of miles away? That is the question, and, as can be readily seen, it is a very important and far-reaching one, affecting, not a single priest, but 10,000 priests, and thus materially influencing the destinies of the nation.

The status of priests as American citizens must be defined. Let it be once authoritatively announced from Rome that the political action of Catholics in America is not free, but controlled by propaganda or pope, and the doom of the Catholic church as a missionary body in the United States is sealed. Thousands of patriotic citizens would leave its ranks at once. Cardinal Gibbons is fully aware of all these elements in the problem, and in the present crisis he will demand for the clergymen of the United States freedom in political thought and action, and he will urge this just demand in as unequivocal terms as did Archbishop Crofe and Bishop Nulty of Ireland, who, in plain words, "told the Roman authorities that the cause to which they were prompted by the English government and the caste Catholics would inevitably lead Ireland to just such a revolt of the masses from the church as had already occurred on the continent."

"And the Roman authorities, we may be very sure, will heed Cardinal Gibbons. "It is certain, as we believe, that whatever decision the people may arrive at concerning Mr. George's theories, some way will be found of restoring to Dr. McGlynn his priestly functions and thus emphasizing the point that the Catholic church is not inimical to American institutions and ideas, and, through claiming absolute obedience in matters of faith and discipline, guarantees to the individual his inalienable rights in a republic. And if such a verdict be given, Dr. McGlynn's refusal to go to Rome to answer for his political conduct as an American citizen will work one of the grandest epochs in the nation's history. His name might then well be linked with those noble, great, God-fearing men who helped to found and have perpetuated religious liberty on this western continent."

Sir Oracle on Dr. McGlynn.

New York Real Estate Record.

On Looker—What is your general judgment of the whole McGlynn matter?

Sir Oracle—That the Catholic church will make concession to the McGlynn sympathizers and may reinstate him, although he confessedly holds views on the land question which are not in accord with those maintained by the Catholic church in its past history. Old Mother Church is supposed to be very rigid in its doctrines and discipline, yet really that great organization in all ages has been forced to tolerate differences of opinion within its own fold. Every order within the church was a departure from the general custom which had to be tolerated. It was an eminent Roman Catholic who uttered that noble sentiment: "In things essential, unity; in non-essential, liberty; in all things, charity." Hence I am inclined to believe that the final victory will be with Dr. McGlynn and not with Archbishop Corrigan, and I also judge that the Catholic church of America has taken a new departure; that hereafter the priests will have more liberty and the prelates less authority. But, of course, it does not follow that the church as an organization will ever countenance Henry George's theories about land, which seem to have bewitched Father McGlynn.

A Tribute to Dr. McGlynn.

LIME CREEK, Mo., March 28.—I wish to say that I for one, although not a Catholic, or, indeed, a professor of any particular religious faith, am an appreciator and defender of that particular heresy for pronouncing which that great and good man, Dr. McGlynn, has been subjected to such unjust treatment. If this nation has reason to be thankful for anything, in my humble opinion, it is for the gift of "Progress and Poverty," and such pure and earnest advocates of the doctrines therein elucidated as Dr. McGlynn.

The Priest of the New Crusade.

NEW YORK, April 5.—I notice in your editorial on Dr. McGlynn in your issue of the 2d inst., a *tapisus scribens* as to the number of years he has been in the ministry. You say seventeen instead of twenty-seven. My admiration of the man prompts me to this correction. All honor to the champion priest who has dared to unfurl the banner of a new crusade, and who has spoken so openly on behalf of the poor he loves so well. Long may he live among us, and I hope the day will not be long distant in which he will arise from this crucible a yet more perfect light, a yet more shining ornament to that church which can ill afford to lose such men.

Dor.

The Crusaders.

EAST ORANGE, April 5.—The recent magnificent effort of Father McGlynn is attracting wide-spread attention, and should be all means be printed in cheap pamphlet form. Who will be the first in starting the new order—"The Crusaders"? The men who accept the name, daring and enthusiasm of that ancient and noble order will become a great power for the furtherance of justice.

E. C. ALPHONSE.

A Dr. McGlynn Meeting.

A mass meeting of citizens of the Eastern district of Brooklyn to sympathize with Rev. Dr. McGlynn will be held next Thursday evening, April 14, in Grand Army hall, of that city, on Bedford avenue, corner of

North Second street. A number of prominent speakers will address the meeting and ladies will be invited.

The True Doctrine.

NEW YORK, April 6.—In spite of ecclesiastical opposition the George doctrine will succeed. All hail to the great and noble Dr. McGlynn.

From a Rent Estate Organ.

Brooklyn Review and Record.

Dr. McGlynn is one of the most pleasing orators of the present time, thoroughly devout and earnest, and convinced that he has found a remedy for the evils of property, and misery and wretchedness, in the abolition of the private ownership of land. He has raised the cross of a new crusade, and his eloquence and his subtle arguments will bring him many followers.

COMMON SENSE IN CANADA.

Land Rent Can Be Appropriated Without Any Infringement of the Constitution.

Hamilton, Ont., Evening Times.

The Toronto *Mail* says: "In the first place, the maintenance of the Upper Canada college costs the province nothing. Its endowment—originally something over 60,000 acres of land—was a part of the grant of lands made to the province by the crown in 1798 for educational purposes. Of this grant King's college received one half and Upper Canada college one-eighth, the remaining three-eighths being applied toward the maintenance of the common schools. In all the legislation affecting the university and the college, the endowment of the latter has been recognized as being wholly separate from that of the former, and the province has never been asked to supplement it in any way. Upper Canada college, therefore, is not a source of expense to the province, and the latter has no moral and possibly no legal right to take its endowment away from it."

Here is a flat contradiction of the Jeffersonian doctrine that the land of a country belongs to the people in usufruct to the living. Because "the crown," representing the people, in 1798 granted 60,000 acres of land for a specific purpose, the people who live in 1887 have no right to resume possession! Where was that doctrine concealed when the people of Canada, through their parliamentary representatives, took possession of the one-seventh of the lands of Upper Canada which had been granted for the support of the Protestant clergy? As a matter of fact, the people of any generation cannot give away in perpetuity the land which the people of another generation will require to use. The right of eminent domain remains. It is not the people who live in Canada in 1798; it surely is not King George III who owns and pays the \$13,000 or so that is annually expended for the maintenance of Upper Canada college in addition to the sums received as fees from the students. The money comes out of the earnings of the present generation of Canadians, and the present inhabitants of the province have a right to withhold it if they think proper to do so. George III had no right to give away the earnings of any people yet unborn for any purpose.

If there are, among the staunch defenders of Upper Canada college, any graduates of that institution who agree with the *Mail's* statement that "the maintenance of the institution costs the province nothing," they must have studied history very superficially during their school days. Under the old feudal system the king portioned the land of the country among the nobility, and the nobles gave permission to the common people to live upon it, the latter paying rent in produce or in labor. When the king wanted to carry on a war, the nobles had to equip and maintain soldiers at their own expense. The king's ordinary revenue came from fees for wardship, marriage, etc. Thus the land rent went for the support of the public service. By gradual innovations, the public revenue came to be collected in other ways, until the main portion was derived from customs and excise duties, and the nobles were thus enabled to appropriate land rents (which came to be paid in money instead of produce or services) to their own use. The commons took the regulation of taxation out of its own hands, and used it to compel concessions of the royal prerogative. The people make the legislature, and the people have never abandoned the right to appropriate land rent for public purposes. The Canadian house of commons will meet next month. It would be quite within the right of that body to take up the customs tariff and repeal every duty on the list, from "absinthe, \$2 per imperial gallon," to "zucare, 20 per cent." The excise duties could be abolished in the same way, and all public revenues could be raised by direct taxation; that is, by appropriating land rent, without any infringement of the constitution. The provincial legislature, now in session, could amend the municipal law that all taxes on goods, money and houses should be repealed, and land rent taken exclusively for municipal and provincial revenue. It is idle for the *Mail* to say that the province has no legal right to resume possession of an endowment which consists of land rent.

In 1670 Charles II. granted to Prince Rupert and fourteen others the land known as the Hudson bay territory. In 1869 the people of Canada paid £300,000 to get seven-tenths of it back, and individual Canadians have been buying back portions of the remaining one-eighteenth ever since. In 1869, in the present century, a large tract of land, comprising Huron and the adjacent counties in western Ontario, was granted to the Canada land company. The people of Canada have had to earn and pay hundreds of thousands of dollars to get that land back, and some of them are paying yet. In 1881 a large grant of land was made to the Canada Pacific company, and in 1886 no less than \$10,180,000 of the people's money was paid to the company to get 6,335,014 acres back. But in 1884 the parliament of Canada quietly resumed possession of the 3,400,000 acres set apart in 1791 for the endowment of rectories, by the simple expedient of an act of parliament, just as the Ontario legislature is at liberty to resume possession of the endowment of Upper Canada college at any moment, when, in the opinion of the people, it is expedient to apply that portion of the people's earnings to some other purpose. The people of Ontario, not the teachers or the students or the graduates of Upper Canada college, own Upper Canada college and all pertaining to it.

Public Agencies for Public Work.

Real Estate Record and Guide.

Private companies for doing public work having got into such discredit, and perhaps with reason, why should not the city have its own street cars and gas factories, just as it now supplies water with so much economy and success.

Flowers.

We like the flowers, are Dependent on the earth, And, like the flowers, grow In plenty or in dearth.

In two worlds flowers live, One earthly, dark and cold, The other sunny, bright, Yet the flower loves the mold.

From thence it draws its power To spring into the air, To seek the sunshine's glory, And grasp the treasures there.

We, like the flowers, are Deprived of mother earth; The glories of the higher life Escape us from our birth.

C. H. BALDWIN

Marboro, N. Y., March 22.

BLACKMAIL RENT.

HOW THE LANDLORD SHARES IN THE BUSINESS MAN'S PROSPERITY.

Lying in Wait Snugly While the Tenant Tolls for Success, the Landowner Appears When It Is Achieved and Keeps Its Fruits.

The rent paying part of the New York business community is by far its larger part. As a field for gleaning facts showing the avarice of landlords it is apparently inexhaustible. During the past week a writer for THE STANDARD has pursued a course of inquiry among business men in relation to rents and the tendencies of trade similar to that described in a late issue of the paper in the article on retail storekeepers. While facts in abundance are easily obtained, the statements cannot be substantiated by publishing the names and addresses of the persons giving them, simply because in the case of every interview the request was made that the name of the tenant spoken of should not be published.

The proprietor of a coffee and cake saloon doing business in a basement near the post-office paid, a few years ago, \$125 a month rent. His customers increased in number and his landlord put up his rent to \$140. He paid the additional \$15 a month as a penalty for his success; but when, a little while later, the rent went up to \$175 a month he moved away. Since that time the place has either been vacant or drawing less than half the rent he paid.

A single store room on the ground floor of one of the smallest and shabbiest buildings in Park row was rented a few years ago by a retail liquor dealer at \$3,000 a year. His landlord is an *au fait* who rents the whole building from the *au fait* and sublets it. On the 1st of May, last year, the liquor dealer's rent was raised to \$4,700—an advance of \$1,700 at a six per cent. bound. He has a three years' lease, terminable, however, in the meantime at the landlord's option at sixty days' notice. This curious lease places him in the position of a monthly tenant. Some of the customers of this dealer dispute George's theories occasionally, and he is said to listen with deep interest to what they say about the "law of rent."

A retail merchant doing business in the vicinity of Wall street said that, according to his experience, the average landlord did not build or buy a house, figure as to what would be a fair interest on the investment made, and adjust rents so as to get a return amounting to that interest in the aggregate. The only question with him was as to how much rental he could get, and that was answered by finding out how high a rent the tenant would stand. The principle in operation between the landlord and tenant in county Cork was the same as that in Wall street. The business man here, like the farmer in Ireland, often had to choose between paying a rack rent or vacating the landlord's premises. In Ireland, however, there was a land league, while in New York there was no retail storekeepers' league, and there was not likely to be any, for the retailers based their business on competition. He regarded it as an inconsistency that there should be laws against a capitalist's putting \$2,000 out at usurious interest, yet he could take the same \$2,000, invest it in a building, and if the tenants built up a good trade, force them to pay a rental of perhaps fifty per cent. He had at one time been in business in the same building with a guerrilla real estate agent, one of whose tricks he described. The agent would ascertain what rent a retail storekeeper paid, and then seek out another retailer in the same branch of business and find out if he thought he could afford to pay a higher rent than the first paid. If so, the agent would wait on the landlord of the first retailer and offer him the sum the second thought he could pay, and thus either drive out the first or compel him to pay the advanced amount, and in either case get a commission for himself. The gentleman said that rents in the Wall street district had been steadily advancing for a long time. He told the writer on parting that he had no sympathy with George men than had with anarchists.

The exchanges are unconscionable landlords. While the produce exchange charges the Western Union company \$24,000 for its booth space, it takes from the Baltimore and Ohio company \$14,000 and the Postal Telegraph company \$8,000. It gave the last named company a small booth on the floor of the exchange on condition that it would also take two large rooms on the lower floor. In the course of some litigation these large rooms were thrown up by the company and they have since been vacant. The telegraph company had been obliged to rent to the exchange the booth on the floor of the exchange and then charge two cents and a half for each message sent or delivered at the booths, the exchange furnishing the messengers. In the case of the Postal Telegraph company the cost is \$125 a month rent and from \$1,300 to \$1,500 a month for messenger service. Five boys are detailed to perform the work of messengers for it in the board room. Each would be paid about \$18 a month by the company. The stock exchange has a system in dealing with the telegraph companies which doubtless had its origin in the brain of a sharper who believed it to be in the nature of things that big fish should eat smaller ones. They fix a monthly rental for a telegraph booth on the floor of the exchange and then charge two cents and a half for each message sent or delivered at the booths, the exchange furnishing the messengers. In the case of the Postal Telegraph company the cost is \$125 a month rent and from \$1,300 to \$1,500 a month for messenger service. Five boys are detailed to perform the work of messengers for it in the board room. Each would be paid about \$18 a month by the company. This exchange makes about twenty thousand its investment on the boys. The superintendents of the exchange lately reported that the money paid by the telegraph companies for privileges in the exchange canceled the sum of its pay rolls. A man with a bell punch in his hands stands in front of the operators' windows on the exchange floor and registers every dispatch sent or delivered, so that the exchange is certain to collect its tax on the amount of work done by each company.

A few general conclusions: There are many immense fortunes invested in New York real estate which are never heard of by the general public. But few large landlords are in commercial life. The custom of short leases and rack rents is growing. The business man is often subject to the landlord to a greater extent than the workingman is to his employer. The business man frequently stands in greater fear of the landlord than the wage worker does of his boss.

Another Wall street business man said it was undoubtedly the experience of nearly every retailer who built up a fine business to have his rent raised at the expiration of a lease. He thought that men starting in business could afford to pay a higher rent than the first paid. If so, the agent would wait on the landlord of the first retailer and offer him the sum the second thought he could pay, and thus either drive out the first or compel him to pay the advanced amount, and in either case get a commission for himself. The gentleman said that rents in the Wall street district had been steadily advancing for a long time. He told the writer on parting that he had no sympathy with George men than had with anarchists.

Several merchants were seen in the butter, cheese and egg district near Washington market. But very few of them own the buildings in which they carry on business. Last year there was a strong effort made by landlords of the locality to increase rents materially wherever leases then expired. But the tenants resisted the "squeeze" there being no reason for an advance other than that the landlords had the inclination to take all they could make the tenants pay, and leases were consequently obtained at old rates, but the leases given were short ones, made so in expectation of rents going higher.

The merchants of the locality are convinced that rents should be lower, in view of the present condition of business, and that there is every prospect that the trade of the vicinity will in future be of such a character as to require a smaller amount to be paid in rent, or else business men will be reduced to the position of mere servants of the landlords. One merchant said that there was really a state of warfare between the real estate owners and tenants of the district. A great deal was being said and done by tenants that indicated the awakening of new principles in their minds. In their discussions the merchants of the trade, who are on closer terms of acquaintance than is usual among business men, frequently mention the teachings of Henry George. This gentleman said: "Landlordism is made more apparent in this city this spring than usual, because of an effort made by the landlords to establish rents to correspond with the high purchase values created by the rapidly increasing aggregation of rich men in this country, and especially in this city, who are competing to invest their money wherever they think it will be a certain mortgage on the people—not only of those now living, but of future generations. This tendency of landlordism is now rapidly developing in thriving cities on account of the

unfortunate tendency of population to concentrate."

A Sixth avenue druggist had no fault to find with his landlord. He rented from a large estate, and he thought that large owners of real estate were usually less exacting than small ones. But in relation to getting along in the world he had been making some observations of his own. Competition in the drug business had reduced profits to a low point. Of the owners of the 700 drug stores of New York, he doubted that two-thirds made more than a mere living. He had a clerk in his store who was competent to manage a place of his own, but the prospect was not encouraging for the best of clerks and managers to set up for themselves. Salaries in drug stores are usually small, the business was overdone, and it seemed that there should be some outlet from it for industrious, capable men so that they might do better than they can within its limitations. In other branches of business there had been great changes on Sixth avenue since he began business there about twenty years ago. The great dry goods marts were swallowing up the smaller—or rather had swallowed up nearly all of them. The druggist had been thinking over all these things, and asked what the George men proposed to do to remedy it all. He had never read THE STANDARD nor any of Mr. George's works. The writer gave him a brief outline of the subject, and left him, if not a convert, an inquirer.

The five francs per 100 kilogrammes on foreign cereals was voted by a majority of seventy-nine, which was greater than was anticipated. In the debates on this vital subject the active influence of the government was thrown on the side of the extra duty. The free traders attempted to arouse public opinion on their side, but failed.

The case of an Eighth avenue clothing house was mentioned by a gentleman interviewed. The stand has been occupied for many years by father and son. Costly improvements have been made by both in the part of the building which they have occupied. They have added to the store and stock and pushed their sales until their business is one well known in that quarter of the city. But the rapacity of the landlord has been felt yearly by through ever-advancing rents, and the stand will be vacated by the firm on the 1st of May, as they have decided that they will not become merely rent-making agents for the man who owns the building. They intend removing down town and engaging in custom work. They have been racked away from a stand, and left him, if not a convert, an inquirer.

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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THIS WEEK'S ELECTIONS.

Even the wilfully blind cannot shut their eyes to the significance of this week's local elections in the western states. In Cincinnati the united labor party, which fought against enormous odds, probably defeated its candidate for mayor, though the suspiciously "revised" returns show a majority of about 500 for the republican candidate. The new party had against it a hostile and mendacious press, the prejudices and money of the wealthy class and the unscrupulous arts, the intimidation and bribery, of both of the old political organizations, while it was finally excluded from any participation in the count of the votes. In the face of all this the vote conceded to it by its opponents is a substantial triumph. In Chicago the labor party met a defeat doubtless partly due to imprudent leadership. Remembering the falsehoods of the newspapers concerning the labor movement in New York last fall, we give but little credence to the sensational stories concerning the anarchist sympathies of those engaged in the movement in Chicago, but we, nevertheless, cannot shut our eyes to the fact that many of the utterances of those claiming to represent the party were untrue, and this doubtless contributed not a little to their defeat, though there, as in Cincinnati, the money of the monopolists and the corrupt practices of the politicians played an important part in achieving success for the republican party. In Dubuque, Iowa, where the labor party stood practically on the Clarendon hall platform, it elected every one of its candidates and distanced both of the old parties. In Milwaukee the democrats and republicans placed a fusion ticket in the field against the labor party, but despite this the latter carried the city.

All of this demonstrates that the new party has already become a serious factor in politics, and that the days of political organizations having neither purpose nor convictions are numbered. The inevitable contest between the masses and the classes has begun, and one or the other of the old organizations must go down, leaving to its opponent the task of fighting monopoly's battle against the people. In New York last fall it looked as if the democracy would undertake that task, but in the west it is the republican party that comes to the front as the champion of money and privilege. In Chicago the democratic party committed luri-kari in advance, and federal officeholders saw off-ensive partisanship in leading the democratic stampede into the republican ranks. In Cincinnati the democratic party was simply overwhelmed, and the republican organization posed as the only champion of the "saviors of society." In Milwaukee the two parties fused, and thus united, failed to win success. All of this is useful in clearing the ground of dead issues and obstructive organizations, and thus preparing the way for the battle that is to come. The name of the new monopoly combination is a matter of indifference to the united labor party; but, if the organization representing privilege and monopoly desires it, Tammany hall can readily find in its lumber room, among other titles that it has cast aside, the name "democratic-republican," which will doubtless be pleasing to those concerned as it will be inappropriate and absurd.

It is probably useless to attempt to warn the leaders and press of the old parties that they are doing all that lies in their power to give to the new movement the very direction which they profess to fear that it will take. Perhaps they seek that very result in representing the workingmen as anarchists and proclaiming their peaceful victories at the polls as triumphs of lawlessness. But it does concern the men engaged in the new movement to frown down any attempt to rob it of its peaceful and thoroughly American character. Nothing that we can do will save us from misrepresentation at the hands of our enemies, and such misrepresentation has ceased to be pleasing to those concerned as it will be inappropriate and absurd.

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Nor is it sufficient that the new party shall refrain from offending those whose

votes it needs and whose cause it represents. The work of education within its ranks must go hand in hand with that of organization. It is not sufficient that all who are discontented with things as they are shall join in expressing their dissatisfaction at the polls. Such a party could win but the triumph of a day and then fade away like frost on a window pane, leaving behind it naught but disappointment and despair. The party that seeks the emancipation of all men from industrial slavery must have as clear cut a purpose and as well defined a leading principle as that which accomplished the emancipation of the black man from chattel slavery. It must offer a remedy, not a mere palliative, for the evils that it attacks. Otherwise its victories will be fruitless and it will fall into the decrepitude of the purposeless political organizations that it contemptuously brushes aside as it has the republican party in New York and the democratic party in the west.

This is the time for the consideration of such questions. The vote cast in the west assures the permanence and national scope of the movement so auspiciously begun in New York last fall. At a single bound the new party has reached a position that enables it to laugh at detraction and rebuke slander. It must now concern itself with its own affairs rather than with the vagaries of its alarmed and demoralized enemies. The time is approaching when the voters who have achieved these results will naturally seek to form a representative national organization. Before that is attempted they must consider what remedy they have to offer for the ills that they complain of and prepare to assert the principles that they represent. Let the good work of organization go on, as it has gone on here in New York from the hour that the polls closed at the last election, but let there be no sacrifice of principle through haste to win victories. There is a remedy for the wrongs to which labor is subjected, and no party that is not prepared to apply that remedy can accomplish any more, in the long run, for workingmen than has been done by the efforts parties now tottering to their final fall.

WILL MR. BLACK PLEASE CALL?

Mr. William Nelson Black, in a recent lengthy communication to the *Sun*, has knocked the plan of taxing land values endways, so to speak. For to make a tax remunerative there must be something to be taxed; to collect a tax on land values you must first have land values; and Mr. Black demonstrates that there is really no such thing as land value.

Mr. Black doesn't require us to take his unsupported word for it. He cites history. He tells us how a certain Mr. Beard bought a lot of land at the mouth of Gowanus creek, in New York harbor, for \$60,000, dug it out to make the Erie basin, erected warehouses, filled in the adjoining lots, and enjoyed the fruits of his labor to the tune of \$6,000,000, all of which millions, as Mr. Black says, are due to the improvements, because if there hadn't been any improvements the land would have been still useless and idle, and consequently couldn't possibly have advanced in value.

We thank Mr. Black for the flood of light he has shed on a great question; and in return we propose to make his fortune. If he will call at this office we will tell him, in strict confidence, of a lot of swamp land we know of bordering on a beautiful bay down south. He can get just as much of this land as he wants for \$500; and, having got it, all he need do will be to dig out a duplicate of the Erie basin, fill in the adjoining lots and have a \$6,000,000 property of his own.

Possibly Mr. Black may despise this offer of ours, and say that an Erie basin three hundred miles from New York would be of no use to him or any one else. It will be a pity if he should, for such an admission would knock the whole bottom out of his argument. It is the quality of nearness to New York—not to New York as a territory, but to New York as a populous center—that creates the land value of the Erie basin.

THE BAD TRADE UNION.

Now that trades unions have by the law against importing laborers carried the protective theory a step further toward its logical conclusion, they are assured for their impudence and blindness. The *Times* is accounted a free trade paper, but it is no more a free trade paper than a colonizationist in the fifties was an abolitionist; and what it has to say is as good protection opinion as any protection organ could utter, and is indeed about the same in sentiment and tone.

The theory of trades unionists, it says, "is that the quantity of work to be done is relatively fixed, and that the fewer there are to do it the greater will be the share of each." The *Times* insinuates that this is a fallacy; and in the abstract it is. There can be no relative limit to the quantity of labor to be done so long as every one wants something that somebody else can make, and is willing to make something in exchange. But, as a concrete fact, the quantity of work is relatively fixed.

This the trade unionist, though ignorant of the economic abstraction, sees, and the *Times*, stupefied by the abstraction, does not see. No one can make anything unless he has something to make it from; and as this something, in the last analysis, is land, a withdrawal of European revolution nor tolerate interference in American politics by any foreign prince or cardinal. In this last respect, as well as in its faith in the will of the people, the labor party is now the only one entitled to call itself American. Nor is the new party composed alone of those ordinarily called laborers. It seeks the support of all who do useful work with hand or brain, and its fight is not that of honest labor against useful capital, but that of the producer against the monopolist.

But the greater complaint of the *Times* is that trades unions limit apprenticeships.

Of course, this is essentially false. There are few trades any more in which there are apprentices in any proper sense. But this fact is not due to trades unions; it is due to the division of labor, which the *Times* would no doubt applaud, since that in the abstract is an excellent thing. At one time there were trades for apprentices to learn; but now, except in a limited number of vocations, the apprentice has only to get the knack of some fraction of a trade, such as setting type in a printing office, to be as useful to the employer as the journeyman, though his wages be less. Trades unions have been driven on this account to limit apprenticeships as well as their power would allow. If they had not done so the work of a good many trades would be wholly done by "apprentices," until the wages in these trades touched the line of unskilled labor.

The difficulty with all these critics of labor unions is that the "monopoly" of labor, as they delight to call it, interferes in some degree with a monopoly of their own; and while they talk glibly enough about interfering with freedom of employment, they are master sticklers for the one monopoly that interferes with all freedom of employment—unqualified ownership of raw materials.

PHILANTHROPY BY PROXY.

Dr. Henry D. Cogswell of San Francisco is one who, like Abbot Ben Adhem, loves his fellow men. Seeing the wretchedly underpaid condition of labor in San Francisco, and observing also that skilled labor commands higher wages than unskilled, Dr. Cogswell has decided to increase the number of skilled laborers by founding and having maintained in San Francisco a polytechnic college, where boys and girls shall obtain practical training in the mechanical arts and other industries. To this end Dr. Cogswell has availed himself of the powers vested in him by the laws of California, and has ordained that henceforth and forever a constantly increasing number of residents of San Francisco shall devote each year a constantly increasing number of days' labor to the furnishing of all things needful for the college—buildings, books, apparatus, food, clothing, and luxuries for the teachers, and, it may be, the support of the gentlemen who will see that the proper number of days' work is faithfully performed. This is generous on the part of Dr. Cogswell, because it is quite within his power, under the laws of California, to make any other use of his pleases of us all this can be done by taxing land values, which, after all, are only what some of us pay others of us for the privilege of living? When you tax labor products, laborers bear the burdens of government; but when you tax land values everywhere, as John Stuart Mill truly said, escapes taxation, because the government takes for public use only what privileged idleness would otherwise take for private use. The very best possible method of equalizing public burdens is thus to practically abolish taxes and meet public expenses with an income that belongs of right to the public which creates it.

"LEGISLATORS could serve the public in no way so well as in framing a law which would fairly equate the burdens of government," says the *Trade Commercial*. Just what we say. And what other way can that be done by taxing land values, which, after all, are only what some of us pay others of us for the privilege of living? When you tax labor products, laborers bear the burdens of government; but when you tax land values everywhere, as John Stuart Mill truly said, escapes taxation, because the government takes for public use only what privileged idleness would otherwise take for private use. The very best possible method of equalizing public burdens is thus to practically abolish taxes and meet public expenses with an income that belongs of right to the public which creates it.

ALL but privileged classes suffer in greater or less degree from the same cause. The reason that the greatest outcry comes from those who are distinguished as the laboring class is that this class suffers in greatest degree.

How common the expression: "I am working for my landlord!" and yet how few who use it appreciate its significance!

JOHN MOST has just been released from the penitentiary. Most made a speech about a year ago, in which he urged his hearers to arm and drill in preparation for a bloody conflict of classes which he predicted, and for this he was sent to prison. Men like Most are the outward manifestations of social disease. Society is not to be saved by punishing them, but by removing the cause of that discontent and bitterness which they roughly express. If there was any danger in his appeal it was because there were hosts of men so oppressed, imbruted and embittered that they might respond. If there were such, the fault was with institutions that transform freeborn citizens with noble instincts into blind and furious beasts. Most might have urged men with all the eloquence and power of oratory to hang themselves, but he would have urged in vain all to whom life had not become a burden. And his appeals to arm and destroy would have been like the chatter of gossips against the wind if a large fraction of society had not been restive under an injustice that they felt but did not understand. Thirty years ago such talk as that for which Most was condemned would have been laughed at; but if he had urged an armed attack upon the slaveholders he would have been promptly punished. But now to urge an armed attack upon slaveholders would be laughed at, while language that would have been ridiculed thirty years ago is declared a crime. The reason is the same in each case. Thirty years ago the evils of landlordism had not come to the surface and no general discontent existed, but now they have come to the surface and fanatic appeals to murder are raised in public sentiment from the grade of foolishness to the attitude of sedition. As when society fostered slavery it shuddered at every ambiguous phrase about slavery, lest it might be a spark to a powder mill, it shudders now at any words which may excite the disinherited to rise up and destroy. Its dangers lie in its own crime; its fear is inspired by its own conscience. Insurrections may be kindled among slaves, but not among freemen, and when we fear the agitator we may be sure that there are slaves among us, whatever may be the name by which we know them. The fear that the fanaticism of men like Most excites in the courts, in newspaper offices and among the saviors and butterflies of society, is the best possible evidence that society is aware of the discontent of those who bear its burdens and is vaguely conscious of its own crime. It is the criminal who sees an officer in every bush. If we fostered no wrong we should fear no avenger.

THE LAND VALUE OF A SOUL.

The congregation of Christ church will continue to worship God in their present building, on the corner of Thirty-fifth street and Fifth avenue, for some time to come, at least. The interests of the church, it is stated, would be subserved by a removal further up town; but nobody is willing to pay to \$225,000 for the land the present church edifice stands on; and until that sum is offered no removal will take place.

This is a queer commingling of Christianity and real estate, and suggests a curious train of thought. The interest of the church is, of course, to save souls; a removal up town would confessedly enable it to save more souls; the reason it doesn't move is because only \$207,500 is offered for its land, against \$225,000 is asked. Now what number of souls must go in peril of damnation, while the church's land is acquiring that lacking value of \$17,000 or, in other words, what is the land value of a soul? It is a pity that St. Paul, or, be it reverently spoken, a Greater than Paul, is not here on earth to ask and answer that question.

The *Times* says that John Most, while in prison, was "compelled to learn how decent men and women behave, and to understand, if not to acquire, their sentiments by following their observances." Surely decent men and women could be put to better use than sending them to prison to teach Most how to behave.

M. M. TRUMBULL, a writer in the *Open Court*, has made the remarkable discovery that "to make unskilled labor skillful is the true policy, so that the product of labor may be greater and its reward higher in money." According to this, if every workman were highly skilled every workman would be better paid. If every fireman were a competent engineer, firemen would get as much as engineers get, and if hod carriers could lay bricks, they would receive bricklayers' wages. Yet, every observer knows that an increase in the number of engineers or bricklayers tends to lower wages in those occupations, and it requires no very vivid imagination to see

that if every workman could do any kind of work as well as any other workman, all wages would fall to the lowest point, notwithstanding that production would be immeasurably increased. Mr. Trumbull's stumbling block is that of most dabblers in the "labor question." He fails to note the difference between production and distribution. Seeing that greater skill produces greater results, he infers that it secures higher rewards to the producer. In any normal condition of society this would be so. But it is not so when society has established artificial dams to obstruct and divert the natural flow of wealth in distribution. It is not so, for example, when the worker is a chattel slave. It is not so when he is a convict. Nor is it so when he must compete with an army of men in enforced idleness for lack of opportunities to work. In such competition the skilled get better wages than the unskilled, not because they produce more but because competition for opportunities to do work that does not require skill is keener than competition to do work that does require skill. If all were equally skilled, in high degree (Mr. Trumbull's ideal), the competition for opportunities to do skilled work would be as keen as it is now to do unskilled work, and the wages of skilled and unskilled laborers would be about alike, not on the higher but on the lower plane of industrial reward. If there were any difference it would most likely be in favor of unskilled work as the more disagreeable.

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ALL but privileged classes suffer in greater or less degree from the same cause. The reason that the greatest outcry comes from those who are distinguished as the laboring class is that this class suffers in greatest degree.

How common the expression: "I am working for my landlord!" and yet how few who use it appreciate its significance!

JOHN MOST has just been released from the penitentiary. Most made a speech about a year ago, in which he urged his hearers to arm and drill in preparation for a bloody conflict of classes which he predicted, and for this he was sent to prison. Men like Most are the outward manifestations of social disease. Society is not to be saved by punishing them, but by removing the cause of that discontent and bitterness which they roughly express. If there was any danger in his appeal it was because there were hosts of men so oppressed, imbruted and embittered that they might respond. If there were such, the fault was with institutions that transform freeborn citizens with noble instincts into blind and furious beasts. Most might have urged men with all the eloquence and power of oratory to hang themselves, but he would have urged in vain all to whom life had not become a burden. And his appeals to arm and destroy would have been like the chatter of gossips against the wind if a large fraction of society had not been restive under an injustice that they felt but did not understand. Thirty years ago such talk as that for which Most was condemned would have been laughed at; but if he had urged an armed attack upon the slaveholders he would have been promptly punished. But now to urge an armed attack upon slaveholders would be laughed at, while language that would have been ridiculed thirty years ago is declared a crime. The reason is the same in each case. Thirty years ago the evils of landlordism had not come to the surface and no general discontent existed, but now they have come to the surface and fanatic appeals to murder are raised in public sentiment from the grade of foolishness to the attitude of sedition. As when society fostered slavery it shuddered at every ambiguous phrase about slavery, lest it might be a spark to a powder mill, it shudders now at any words which may excite the disinherited to rise up and destroy. Its dangers lie in its own crime; its fear is inspired by its own conscience. Insurrections may be kindled among slaves, but not among freemen, and when we fear the agitator we may be sure that there are slaves among us, whatever may be the name by which we know them. The fear that the fanaticism of men like Most excites in the courts, in newspaper offices and among the saviors and butterflies of society, is the best possible evidence that society is aware of the discontent of those who bear its burdens and is vaguely conscious of its own crime. It is the criminal who sees an officer in every bush. If we fostered no wrong we should fear no avenger.

THE WEEK IN WALL STREET.

Notwithstanding the still further decrease in reserve, as shown by the bank statement of Saturday, leaving but \$4,000,000 above the required twenty-five per cent surplus, the stock market has shown decided strength. In anticipation of monetary stringency it seemed to waver up to the hour that the statement was published. But Saturday afternoon it took a new lease of life, and during the fore part of this week the "bulls" have had their own way. With the higher range of prices an increase in the volume of business has also appeared, so that the complaints of dullness heard on all sides a few weeks ago have, to a great extent, ceased.

Prices for government bonds show a still further advance, and activity in them has scarcely lessened.

The stock market has had several feverish spells, so with every fractional advance it is obliged to absorb great quantities of stock. But the cliques are undaunted, and seem to be afraid of nothing. The real estate activity will eventually put an end to their dreams and give the "bears" ample opportunity to go short and cover with heavy profits.

X. Y. Z.

A New View of the Causes of Poverty.

The rich grow richer, and the poor poorer, not so much through the operations of existing laws as their mal-administration. When it shall have been demonstrated that human misery goes hand in hand with wisely administered laws, it will be wise to invoke the measures advocated by Messrs. George and McGlynn.

completely vanished, and along with the disbursement of \$31,000,000 in April, it is expected will come much lower interest rates. This loosening of rates will aid the bulls in their present effort to lift the market to something approaching the attitude of last December, which will allow those who took on stocks at the highest prices of the present boom to get rid of their stocks and get back their money.

Nothing is more evident than that this is the aim of the cliques. With the exception of Mr. Cammack, who is at present but a lukewarm opponent of the present upward movement, all the large operators are "bulls." Chicago has sent some of her biggest operators to help swell the bubble; and Deacon White and Mr. Gould vie with each other in their expressions of hopefulness. But the market is not a broad one, nor has the public evinced any great eagerness to get in at these "bottom prices." The specialties will be the features for a while, and the

THE WEEK.

The only victory of any importance won by the democrats at this week's elections was that in Rhode Island, and there the party represented a principle and pledged itself to amend the constitution so that it shall no longer deny to foreign born citizens not owning property the right to vote. Where the party has offered practical help to the working people it has gained strength; where it has turned its back on them it has been annihilated.

The interstate commerce law went into what is called operation on Tuesday last, and the operation it has gone into threatens to be as effective as that of the usury law in New York. For the railway managers and counselors have been thinking the matter over, and when they lay their heads together the result is generally to their own advantage.

The law forbids the issuing of passes. Well, the roads will stop the issuing of passes. Of course they will. They make a point of obeying the law whenever possible, and it is eminently possible in this case. So there will be no free travel! Well, technically speaking, within the meaning of the act, you understand, none whatever. Of course, large shippers, influential drummers and other people who can control business must be conciliated; but there's no difficulty about that. Isn't it easy enough to make them employes of the roads that want to favor them and pay their salaries in tickets? Does the law forbid a railway to hire what men it pleases and pay them what salaries it has a mind to? No indeed!

And the long haul and short haul provision. How can that be evaded? Marry, thus. John Smith of New York ships two lots of goods by the same line, one to Buffalo and the other to Chicago. He pays lawful rates on both, but when his shipment reaches Chicago there comes into play a perfectly legitimate contract by the railway people to deliver the goods within a certain number of hours under a penalty which, curiously enough, amounts to just the difference between what the Chicago rate is under the interstate commerce law and what it would be if there were no such law existing. And even this transparent evasion seems likely to be rendered needless by the action of the commission in "temporarily exempting" certain roads from the operation of the provision in question.

The lesson of all this, as of the non-enforcement of the usury law, the Sunday liquor law and other enactments of that kind, is simply that when our forefathers declared that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, they enunciated a truth and not an idle platitude. The words of the declaration mean something.

If a legislator is willing to be bribed, and a citizen is willing to bribe him, no law against bribery can do more than make them careful not to be found out; if one man wants to buy whisky on Sunday, and another wants to sell it him, the whisky will surely be sold, and if a railway wants to give a free pass or a reduced rate, and a traveler or shipper wants to get it, the pass will be issued or the low rate charged though a thousand laws forbid.

The Albany legislature has under consideration a bill, introduced by Senator McMillan, to amend the statute relative to the employment of women and children by, among other things, increasing the age at which children may be employed from thirteen to fourteen years. The arguments of the senators who oppose the measure are worth attention. Senator Law is satisfied that the danger to children is not from work, but from idleness and going in the streets. Senator Plunkitt expresses his belief that, as long as school facilities are so generally lacking throughout the state, it is better to have children at work than in idleness in the streets. Moreover, the passage of the bill will throw out of employment, in New York alone, more than 8,000 thirteen-year-old girls. Ultimately, the prohibition against the employment of girls under fourteen has been struck out, and the bill is recommitted.

It would be interesting to know if our Albany solons apply in their own families this newly discovered sociological principle that it is better for a child of thirteen to work ten or twelve hours a day than to waste the shining hours in "idleness." It would be well, too, if they would reflect a little on what kind of a civilization it is that confessedly couples American citizens to choose between forcing their children to work when they should be at play and exposing them to the degrading influences of "the street." One would think, listening to the prattle of these Albany gentlemen, that God had made the earth too small and the children too many.

Practically, of course, it makes little difference whether the lawful age at which children may be set to wage earning is fixed at one figure or at another. Children don't go to work as a refuge from the evil associations of "the street." They go to work because poverty compels them to; and the chief effect of that is to make the younger among them liars as well as slaves.

The proposal to tax deposits in savings banks and trust companies finds few defenders; indeed, it is probably safe to say that there are any real danger of the bill passing into a law, the few who now advocate it would be found among its bitterest opponents.

And yet the measure is a severely practical one and is not at all likely to fail of accomplishing its objects. Its real object is to tax the savings banks, not for the benefit of the community, but for the profits of a few individuals; and this it will probably be successful. It is a bit of practical politics; in other words a "strike."

It is curious to remark, however, how quickly public sentiment is aroused in opposition to a proposal to levy a tax upon industry and thrift in this particular manner, and yet how acquiescent the same sentiment is in the imposition of much heavier burdens, provided only they are imposed in other and more orthodox forms. To fine John Smith for depositing his savings in a bank is immoral; but to punish him for investing them in any other way is perfectly proper. To tax John Smith's money out of a savings bank for public purposes is a thing not to be thought of; but to compel John Smith himself to draw his own money out and pay it over to an Astor estate, or a Rhinelander estate, or a Sailor's Snug Harbor estate, as a price for the privilege of living, is so evidently proper that to suggest the contrary is to strike a blow at the foundations of civilization and religion.

"What man?" remarks one of our New York papers, "possessing brains and honesty, would favor any policy calculated to discourage the spirit which prompts the workman to put by his small savings for a rainy day?"

Some of the corporations to which the legislature of this state has at various times granted the right to collect taxes from the people of New York city are finding it difficult to enforce their rights, not as against the people whom as a practical matter of fact, have no recognized rights worth speaking of—but as against each other. The Arcade road puts in a claim to Broadway and has a sacred piece of paper to show for it, but the Metropolitan transit company has another piece of paper, equally sacred, by virtue of which it claims Broadway. The cable company has a documentary right to some seventy miles of streets, and the Manhattan railway company modestly claims them all. So a new rapid transit commission is to settle, not what the people shall pay, but when they shall pay it to.

The fire insurance companies' union shows signs of dissolution. The smaller companies are discovering that under the rules of

the association it is impossible for them to secure their fair share of business, and one of them, the Williamsburg City, has notified the pool of its intention to withdraw. This example will unquestionably be followed by the other minor companies, and the continuance of the combination will then become impossible.

The theoretical object of this union was to put an end to competition among the companies, and thus enable them to reduce brokers' commissions. Its actual purpose and effect was to secure higher rates of premium from insurers. The heavy commissions to brokers really meant lower rates of insurance, since it was the well-settled custom that commissions were divided between brokers and insured, thus enabling the latter to secure lower net rates; and when, on the formation of the pool, the commissions were reduced, it was really the policy holders who suffered by the confiscation of their share of the commission. The smaller companies, who foresaw the injury which the pool would inflict on their business, were dragged into submission by the threat of ruinous undercutting. A brief experience has sufficed to show them their mistake, and the public will be the gainer by it.

Register Murtha of Brooklyn has invented and put into operation a little eight hour law of his own, which seems to work fairly well. The Title Guarantee and Trust company has been endeavoring to secure copies of the records of Kings county real estate titles. To this Mr. Murtha at first objected *in toto*; but when the Title company threatened suit he modified his objection and suggested a compromise. He couldn't afford the Title company's clerks to copy records during business hours, but he had no objection to their doing so in the evenings—for a consideration. For the modest sum of \$100 a week he would have the office kept open for a few extra hours each day, during which they might copy all the records they pleased. Mr. Murtha could afford to name so low a figure, because, as appears from the evidence before the investigating committee, the register's office is kept open nights anyhow, the clerks doing a great deal of their copying and much of their searching after official hours.

For more than a year past the department of agriculture has been investigating the subject of food adulteration. The department is by no means ready yet to tell all it has discovered, but in a recent report it lifts a corner of the veil that hides its knowledge, and tells us what it knows about spices and condiments.

Of the twenty samples of ground cloves examined by the department expert only two were pure. The others had suffered the extraction of their essential oils and had been polluted by the addition of clove stems, alspice and husks of various kinds. Of eight samples of cayenne pepper only one was pure. Of ten samples of mustard none were pure, though several had only suffered the loss of their fixed oil; the others contained quantities of wheat flour, the spurious matter being in some cases two-thirds of the compound. This made it necessary to add tumeric acid (harmless) to restore the mustard color. Ten samples of allspice were examined, eight of which were pure. Four samples of cassia were all pure. Of ten samples of ginger, four were pure. Only one out of thirteen samples of black pepper was found to be what it purported to be. Two samples of white pepper out of five were pure, two samples of mace out of five were pure, and of three samples of nutmeg examined all were pure. The expert incidentally mentions a New York spice grinder who within a short time worked off five thousand pounds of coconut husks.

What will be done about it? Well, some state legislatures will probably pass laws providing that hereafter there shall be no adulterations, and the majesty of law having thus asserted itself, the adulterations will go on as merrily as ever. For above the statute law against dishonesty is the more powerful social law, which, by granting to individuals the power to tax and curb production, forces producers into an unnatural and unwholesome competition, in which the most shrewdly unprincipled competitor is safe to win.

Meanwhile, disclosures like this are wholesale thought food for the clamors for government on "business principles."

The Pennsylvania legislature is determined to let its good deeds shine before men, and especially before railroad men. Under the laws of the state no company doing business in Pennsylvania as a common carrier may own land except for the purpose of its regular business. This is an inconvenience to the Erie railway, which has a title to 70,000 acres of coal land in the western part of the state, valued at \$4,000,000, and forces it to adopt one of two courses: either to hold the land in some other name or to "arrange" with the legislature for a suspension of the law. Apparently it has found the second course the most desirable, for a bill is now pending at Harrisburg providing that what is law for everybody else shall not be law for the Erie, which, if the bill becomes a law, will be enabled to hold its coal lands in its own name, anything on the statute books of Pennsylvania to the contrary notwithstanding.

The tory government in England is doggedly pressing forward its preparations for the passage of the Irish coercion act. It has managed to get the closure through parliament, and is remorselessly applying the gag law to its opponents. Public indignation has, however, had sufficient weight to compel the practical abandonment of the clause authorizing the removal of accused Irishmen to England for trial. The English radicals are making a vigorous fight against the measure outside of parliament, and public meetings will be held in every town in the kingdom to denounce the tyrannical bill. It is believed that the parliamentary tactics of the Irish members will enable them to delay the passage of the bill for six weeks, and meanwhile the agitation throughout the country will be preparing the way for the overthrow of the tory party at the next election, and the bringing of the liberals back to power on a square issue of home rule for Ireland.

In Ireland there is a rapidly growing feeling of bitterness, and the nationalistic newspapers are printing the record of Balfour's father as an evictor in Scotland. The young man appears to have received early and practical training in the brutality he is now upholding, and he is proving himself to be an apt pupil. He has a chipper insolence that is peculiarly aggravating, and he apparently considers wholesale eviction rather amusing than otherwise. A man who thus makes game of a people's sufferings is likely to find himself made game of by somebody in a vastly different sense.

It is so much the custom of a certain portion of the press of this country to treat this Irish question as though it were something abnormal to the modern system of civilization, the like of which never by any possibility could occur in these United States, that it is worth while to consider briefly what the Irish question really is.

Certain people, chiefly non-residents of Ireland, are endowed by social usage and statute law with the right to claim as their own a certain portion of all that Ireland produces—paper, linen, grain, butter, eggs, everything, in short. They do without making any return whatever, simply because society says they may. The Irish people who produce the pigs and linen and butter and other things are strenuously objecting to this condition of affairs, and, in point of fact, are keeping their pigs, etc., for their own use and declining to part with them except for value received. And the Irish question, which has revolutionized the British parliamentary system, is the question of what is to be done under these circumstances. The dominant party

insists that Irishmen must give up their pigs, etc., under penalty of imprisonment or death; and the present prospect is that what they say will become law. To what extent the law can be executed will then remain to be seen.

Meantime, the journals which so ardently sympathize with the oppressed Irish would but analyze the condition of affairs here in the United States, they would discover that no small portion of the pigs and other produce of this country is taken by people whose claim to it has no foundation in equity, but states, precisely like the claims of the absent landlords of Ireland, upon social usage and statute law, and upon nothing else.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Special Pleas in the Form of Questions.

NEW YORK.—Please answer the following: Why should not the state wherein improved property is located be benefited by the imposition of an additional tax upon such improved property, when the improvement is partially, if not principally, attained through the safety and protection given the one benefited by the operation of universal law, which to successfully maintain, causes in each state great public expenditure?

(2) How would any state thrive by the imposition of an equal tax on land values, when one man, fully protected by the universal laws of the land, and his rights at all times preserved, accumulates vast wealth through industrial effort, pays the very same money tax as an adjacent property owner, whose land remains uncultivated, and which requires no cost whatever on the part of the state to protect?

(3) Why should not the wealthier of the two be willing to pay increased taxes to the state, for the reason of the state, by the due administration of equal laws, costly to maintain, assisting him to obtain such increased wealth, which the property owner may have been twenty or more years in collecting?

(4) Should not that enriched man pay an additional tax, forgetting that in the same space of time his neighbor's property has not been cultivated one iota, the latter being in a measure an injury to the state and to its welfare?

(5) If all lots were taxed equally, as Mr. George maintains should be done, how should a poor tradesman compete with the rich one in the same business, on the same thoroughfare, when the rich man has vast means and magnificently appointed buildings to promote his success—and not taxed for the same—and the other, having but limited means, and say, if you please, but mere sheds to spread his wares in? The proposition is to tax both the same amount, the same, millionaire or bankrupt. Is this just?

(6) A man, having a large cultivated property with many improvements thereon, including many servants in his employ, is asked by the county tax commissioners to subscribe toward maintaining the fire, police, school, poorhouse and canal tax in the county; the canal, built by the state, by reason of its close proximity to his land, enhances it fifty per cent. He answers that he will subscribe, but on the same basis of taxation as his less fortunate neighbor, whose property is unimproved, dried out or worn out, and not contributing to the support of a single soul. Should not the one reaping the advantages of protection, the advantages which education affords to his children and to his employees' children, the bettering of their social and moral condition, pay more than one owning property in the same county but who asks none of these favors from the state? George says no.

(7) A has 5,000 employees (the Pennsylvania coal company), John Roach, Krupp, the gunmaker, and A's aggregate wealth is estimated at \$5,000,000; supposing, though, that the wages of the hired, 500 men are maintained and permanently disabled, more or less, and 2,000 dependents are made homeless (this occurs very often, as you know); many are necessarily sent to asylums, almshouses and other kindred institutions. Would it be just to impose the same tax to maintain these institutions upon the adjacent unimproved land owner, who did not, through business or other sources, contribute in bringing about the unfortunate condition of affairs alluded to? Having in view constantly that the latter owns the same amount of property in land, as Krupp, but not the former, does not contribute in any way to the support of the government and its institutions, many of whose employees are dependent upon the state?

D. W. You use so many ambiguous terms and exhibit so vague a knowledge both of what Mr. George proposes and of the economic principles underlying his proposition, that it is difficult to answer you as it would be to explain a problem in geometry to one who was ignorant of the rudiments of the science. If you are really seeking information, and not venturing conundrums for pastime, you should read "Progress and Poverty"—really read it, not skip through its pages. Your letter indicates that you have not read even the Answers to Queries preceding your own. Nevertheless, we will briefly reply, rather by way of suggestion than otherwise, to the questions you put, trusting to a further investigation on your part to make the replies clear should they seem at present to be insufficient.

(1) By "improved property" we must assume that you mean *improvements* on land as distinguished from the *land*. Otherwise there is no point to your question. The state cannot be benefited by taxes on improvements. The state—that is, the people—is benefited by improvements, and as taxes on improvements tend to discourage the making of improvements, a tax on improvements, so far as I can see, would be a bad idea. But the great expense of securing that enjoyment is because our social system, by denying natural rights to land, makes thieves of honest men. What you call protection operates in a circle. First, it protects a few in their exclusive possession of industrial opportunities, thereby making the others dependent on them for a living; and from among those who, under such disadvantages, find it difficult to get an opportunity to make a living, comes a regular supply of social birds of prey, against whose depredations producers are, after a fashion, protected. If every man were free to work, getting the full product of his labor, there would be very little necessity for protection. Those who fence in land create the necessity and should pay.

(2) By "improved property" we must assume that you mean *improvements* on land as distinguished from the *land*. Otherwise there is no point to your question. The state cannot be benefited by taxes on improvements. The state—that is, the people—is benefited by improvements, and as taxes on improvements tend to discourage the making of improvements, a tax on improvements, so far as I can see, would be a bad idea. But the great expense of securing that enjoyment is because our social system, by denying natural rights to land, makes thieves of honest men. What you call protection operates in a circle. First, it protects a few in their exclusive possession of industrial opportunities, thereby making the others dependent on them for a living; and from among those who, under such disadvantages, find it difficult to get an opportunity to make a living, comes a regular supply of social birds of prey, against whose depredations producers are, after a fashion, protected. If every man were free to work, getting the full product of his labor, there would be very little necessity for protection. Those who fence in land create the necessity and should pay.

Much of your confusion of thought is due to neglecting the very obvious economic distinction between land and things produced from land by labor—between the spring and a bucket of water taken from the spring. The law may call both property, but that does not make them so economically or morally. The law has called men property.

Rack Renting and Fixity of Tenure.

DUNNSNAN, Perth.—Having read "Progress and Poverty" with much interest, I wish to ask how, were the state to become landlord, rack renting could be avoided and how fixity of tenure could be secured. A rack renting landlord is simply one who takes the highest bid for his land. How could the state bid doing that? Again, if it mad offered a higher rent for a piece of land than the occupying tenant was willing to pay, the occupying tenant would have to go, of course, getting the full value of his improvements. But that would not be enough to compensate for disturbance. Sympathizing with you entirely in your efforts for effecting a fairer distribution of wealth, I am yours sincerely,

W. NAME.

If the state were the only landlord, rack renting would not be oppressive. No one would bid anything for land which was not at the time exceptionally desirable in consequence of density of population or public improvements. All bidding for land on speculation would cease. No one would hold land for a future value, because when the value came it would be appropriated by the state. Therefore, all land having no present value would be vacant, and, being common land, would be open to free occupation. This condition of things would keep land down to its normal value, beyond which rack renting could not force it; and the highest bidder for valuable land would pay no more for his exceptional advantage than that advantage was worth—that is, no more than the difference between that land and the least valuable land to be had for nothing. And this would pay into a common fund. If A and B owned a tract of land, one half of which was worth \$500 a year and the other half nothing, and A took the better half, paying its value and leaving the poorer half to B, their advantages would be equalized. With the same labor and capital A would produce \$500 more than B, which would be divided between the two. Then if B should outbid A for the better land—should offer \$600, say—they would change places as to the land they occupied, but each would be better off by \$50 a year than before. What you call rack renting by the state would operate similarly. It might displace occupants at times, but never to their disadvantage, since every one would be both a landlord and a tenant; what one lost as a tenant he would gain as a landlord. In practice, however, there would be very little displacement of occupants against their will, for it would seldom happen that the occupant of land of increasing value could not better afford to pay the increased rent.

(3) Because he has an equal right to the land values of his community and is entitled to have public expenses paid out of that common property before being forced to make a contribution from his private purse.

(4) We cannot understand why a man who has used his land so as to benefit the state should pay a greater tax on that account than the man who, by not using his land at all, has injured the state. If each appropriates the same land value, each should pay the same tax, just as two people would pay the same price for the same kind of seat in a theater, though one enjoys the play more than the other, or even stays away, leaving his seat vacant. It is the value of the opportunity a man appropriates for which he should pay, not the use he makes of the opportunity.

(5) Mr. George does not propose to tax all lots equally. He proposes to tax all land values at an equal rate. If the poor tradesman occupied a lot of equal value to that of the rich tradesman, he would compete with him very much as he does now, plus many advantages which need not be enumerated.

(6) Meantime, the journals which so ardently sympathize with the oppressed Irish would but analyze the condition of affairs here in the United States, they would discover that no small portion of the pigs and other produce of this country is taken by people whose claim to it has no foundation in equity, but states, precisely like the claims of the absent landlords of Ireland, upon social usage and statute law, and upon nothing else.

(7) Protection or Free Trade.

HORNELLVILLE, N. Y.—The readers of your paper are cordially approve and fairly understand your land theories, except as they relate to the tariff. While we know that the present protective tariff protects the monopolist rather than the workingman, will not free trade, even with land value tax, be more detrimental to American labor than a land value tax accompanied by a prohibitory tariff? You will, perhaps, say that such a tariff would practically confine us to a home market, but under free trade would we not import far more of the results of foreign labor than export products of our own industry?

Mr. George, in his examination before the state investigating committee of 1883 instances the fact that we can manufacture watches cheaper in this country than they can abroad while paying better wages. But is not this one of the few exceptions to the rule; if so, what will other trades do? We cannot afford to be watchmakers.

Will not manufacturers ship raw material to Europe, still worse, to China and manufacture pauper labor and then sell home manufactured articles in the markets of the world, bringing our wages down by their competition to a minimum?

What awaits us is that we can buy cheap if business is stagnant.

These difficulties might adjust themselves in time, but could American labor tide over that period? If you can show us immediate and lasting benefits

ENGLAND'S DEMOCRACY.

MR. H. M. HYNDMAN DESCRIBES THE GATHERING STORM.

How the Queen's Jubilee is Being Boomed—Masses Against Classes—The Irish Party's Duty Toward Workingmen in Great Britain.

Special to The Standard.

London, March 24.—It is a commonplace nowadays to say that the telegraph has destroyed correspondence; and no doubt it has, so far as mere news and freshness of matter is concerned. The writer whose comments upon what is passing before him in tea days behind the reports of the events themselves, is no doubt placed at a great disadvantage in some respects. Yet I am not at all sure that the very knowledge that what he himself is dealing with will be ancient history by the time his letter reaches its destination does not give greater subtlety to his judgment, if it do not at the same time render him anxious to put what he has to say in a more readable, yet more permanent form than that of a mere hand-to-mouth epistle. At any rate, in any letters which I may send to THE STANDARD in answer to the kindly request of my friend, its editor, I shall do my best to place before American readers some phases of English life and thought which, perhaps, are too often overlooked in the hurry and scurry of ordinary newspaper work. It is astonishing, indeed, how much does escape notice, even in these days of microscopic records. Louis Blanc, for example, used to send letters to the *Temps* during his long exile in England which were eagerly read in this country and all over Europe, as well as in Paris. Yet he never so much as noticed, republican semi-socialist as he was, those terrible blue books on the condition of the working classes, whose very frankness will constitute such damaging evidence against our rulers in the eyes of posterity. The tone of "society," the views of political men, are caught and transmuted fairly enough, but the changes in the mind of the mass of the people are rarely given with accuracy, while frequently facts are deliberately distorted.

I have just had personal experience of what may be done in the way of journalistic misrepresentation—one out of many such experiences. There can be no doubt whatever that the feeling of the workers is turning against the monarchy. I do not mean that there is any vehement disloyalty to the queen at the present time; but already people are heartily sick of the jubilee, and wouldn't care if they never heard the word mentioned again. It is generally recognized that, so far, at any rate, as England is concerned, the queen has lived the life of a selfish and rather ill-natured recluse, neglecting most of the duties she is paid to perform, and showing the world clearly that if a dummy were set up at Osborne or Balmoral such an effigy would serve our purpose as well or better than this well-born old lady, with such an inextinguishable array of stuck-up and poverty-stricken German relations to provide for. The way in which the hat has been passed round lately has also produced a sensation of disgust. A tribe of royalist collectors has been let loose upon the public, and word has gone forth that all the world should be taxed for this memorial and that, until now very strong language is used concerning such shameful mendacity. A black mark, as is well known, is out against any man in the army or navy who fails to proffer his "voluntary" subscription. All this, combined with a strong savor of jobbery, has turned men's stomachs, and there is a vast deal of downright lying as to the way in which royalist proposals are received in London and the country.

This brings us to our own experience. Tomorrow, March 24, the queen goes down to Birmingham—the private preserve of that quintessence of capitalism, Joseph Chamberlain—to lay the foundation stone of the new law courts. Now Birmingham, albeit that it now returns six unionist or tory-and-water members, has always had the credit, since the days of Dr. Priestly, of being a republican city. But it has spent the sum of £10,000 in receiving her majesty. This seemed to a great many a most lavish outlay for such a purpose, seeing that Birmingham has suffered terribly from the long depression of trade, and that only a little while ago, when an attempt was made to raise a fund to feed and clothe the hundreds and thousands of starving, ragged children in the city, not £500 was forthcoming. The local branch of the social democratic federation, therefore, resolved to hold three meetings of protest last Sunday against this waste, which in such circumstances seemed nothing short of criminal, and invited me down to speak. I went, and at all three meetings the resolution condemning the expenditure, and the slavish kowtowing to royalty which it betokened, was carried. At two of the meetings the vote was unanimous; at the third there was a trifling disturbance by a handful of youths, who were attacked by the crowd and driven away; but there also the vote was carried, by an overwhelming majority, and the convenors of the meeting, including myself, strolled peacefully away after the crowd had given three hearty cheers for the social federation.

On my return to London I found that the meetings had been grotesque failures, and that at the principal one, where the lads made a little fuss, we had been completely outvoted, and I should have been seriously injured but that the police rescued me from the hands of a furious mob. This is the sort of foolish lying which is deceiving the royal family and the wealthy classes as to what is really going on among the people. I do not mean to say that there is any very strong republican sentiment at present. I do not even state that the queen is personally unpopular. But I do say that there has been an extraordinary change during the last few months, and that there is literally no enthusiasm for the jubilee or for the monarchy among the great majority of laboring Englishmen. The queen, like Louis Philippe, is essentially a middle class monarch, fond of money and banking for good investments. It is quite possible, if things go on as they are going, that she, too, will take her departure in a huck cab. That I should be sorry for. I would even stand my share of a brouache and four for the occasion.

Meantime, however, you are doubtless receiving glowing accounts of her most gracious majesty's unabated popularity with all classes of our subjects and imagine that she is mistress of all hearts.

I am writing on the day following the all-night sitting in the house of commons. The tory government has resolved to carry matters with a high hand, and last night undoubtedly succeeded in doing so against the Irish members and their radical friends. But this sort of victory is really more dangerous than defeat. No one would accuse me of any regard for the liberal party. That faction is as much a wire-puller's machine as either of the discredited parties in the United States. But a little more of such insolence as that which has been recently shown by the aristocratic-plutocratic gang, led in the house of commons by Smith and Goschen, with their cohort of young lords, and supported by Hartington and Chamberlain, will serve to weld together every progressive element in Great Britain into one solid revolutionary force. Salisbury is assuredly no Stratford, and that insufferable prig, Balfour, is as certainly no froton. Even if they were, we are not in the days of Charles I or Cromwell. Things do move slowly no doubt; but they have moved since the seventeenth

century. The tories are not strong enough for this sort of work. They have no orator in the lower house now that Lord Randolph has gone, and to carry on a policy of repression requires not only an orator in these democratic days, but imposing personality, such as Bismarck's. The liberals, with all their shortcomings, have both an orator and a personality in Gladstone, and he will be a terrible antagonist in the path of such blundering co-conspirators as these. By the way, I believe Balfour is that member of his family to whom the late Dr. Thompson of Trinity, Cambridge, addressed one of his famous sarcasms. Balfour was as conceited and supercilious ten years ago as he is to-day, and he had only just taken his degree, with an air of dogmatic assumption altogether insufferable. "After all," murmured Thompson as he had given vent to some self-sufficient dictum, "we are none of us infallible—not even the youngest of us."

But Balfour has no doubt about his own infallibility still, and it is just this which will wreck him. Moreover, the attempt to apply "thorough" in Ireland and a vigorous "closure" in the house of commons may yet turn against the tories themselves. "No quarter" is a very ugly cry to rouse in the presence of an enemy who is gaining strength every day, and can on an emergency move the peoples of the people as the reactionary party never could and never will. The great mistake being made at present by the anti-coercion side is the attempt to sever home rule and the cause of the Irish generally from the cause of the English democracy. I have been a home ruler for years, not because I believe in the empty nationality cry, but because in that way alone can the Irish begin to deal with their social difficulties, apart from the interference of English soldiery and English constabulary. But I have never ceased to urge upon Irishmen, when I was a member of the central executive of the land league of Great Britain, and ever since, the absolute necessity, if they wish to win quickly, to make common cause with the mass of Englishmen and to demand measures which will improve the lot of their own working countrymen in Great Britain itself at the same time. This they have always refused to do, and are not doing now; though the Irish workers in our great cities are worse off than any other portion of the whole population, and they number from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000. This blunder cost them dear at the last election, and notwithstanding liberal support, may cost them dear at the next. A man may have little faith in parliamentary methods. I confess I have not a very great deal myself. But as parliamentary methods are being used, no effort should be spared to bring the English voters to the poll by offering them, in addition to home rule—which the mass of them care not two straws about—I am sorry to say—some benefits which will touch them at their own firesides. The action of Cox, Arthur O'Connor and Blane in bringing forward the question of the unemployed in the debate on the address did more to breed a good feeling among Englishmen than any step yet taken. This I know. Why not go on, then? It may be said that I am arguing from a selfish point of view, and that the English ought to oppose tyranny in Ireland on principle. Very likely. We social democrats have always acted on principle, and we opposed liberal coercion applied by Gladstone as vigorously as we shall withstand tory coercion applied by Salisbury. But that will not take great multitudes of men to the poll who care no more for Father Kelleher than they do for saving your presence, Mr. Editor—Father Metcalf. The truth is that the Irish are relying upon Schindler and the wirepullers instead of upon the genuine democratic sentiment of Englishmen and Scotchmen. This sentiment can only be aroused by showing that the cause of the people of Ireland is at one with that of the people of England, that the Irish are ready to help forward English measures as well as their own until home rule is gained. At present this is not being done. Consequently, whatever sanguine Irishmen may tell you, I will stake my reputation that there is no enthusiasm for home rule among the rank and file of working class voters in England and Scotland. That is a serious matter when the reactionary feeling among the middle class is growing as it is among so many of the shopkeepers to-day.

Take an instance of neglect of opportunity. The coal mining industry is here, as in all great manufacturing countries, the bed rock basis of the whole productive system, aside from agriculture. In great Britain some 500,000 men are employed. Lately we have had a succession of those isolated and hopeless strikes, which from the waste which they entail and the certainty of defeat make one little short of despair of the future of the pitmen. In Lancashire the Scotch miners have been out. Poor devils! they have been earning on an average a net wage of nine shillings, little more than two dollars a week! The masters wished to reduce even that and the men struck. Insulted, bullied and maimed, they were driven into rioting. The police and military were called out; many were haled into custody. No one denies the miserable condition of the men; and that profits, including middlemen's commissions, etc., amount to royalties and wages together. Here was a chance for the Irish members. Englishmen and Scotchmen in parliament dared not stand up for the oppressed miners. The so-called labour representatives sat silent and cowardly—Broadhurst, Burt, Howell, Smith, Rowland, Cremer, Bradlaugh—the whole self-seeking, contemptible clique were as much as mice concerning the suffering of their fellows and the starvation of their wives and children. Would it not have been politic as well as generous for some of the Irish members to have risen and demanded justice for these oppressed workers who are in as bad a plight as the peasants of Kerry? I say it was their duty to shame the craven "representatives" of labor and to show that they as Irishmen did not allow St. George's channel to limit and narrow their sympathies for the sorrows of mankind. They let the opportunity slip. But similar ones are occurring every day. There is another great strike among the Northumberland miners going on at this moment against a reduction. They will fail. But they are home rulers to a man. Could not the eighty-six Irish members have depated one of their number to ask a question, at least, on their behalf, and thus proclaim to the world that democracy knows no national prejudice; that the home rule party has a wider view of the relations which should subsist among civilized men? Nothing of that kind is done.

While, however, I make these criticisms, it is impossible to question the good which is being done in England by the continuous agitation of the Irish question. Men begin to see the absurdity of dealing with a great class question of property in land, railways, mines, machinery, as if it were some paltry political issue. They note that directly breeds pocket interests are openly threatened the tory, whig, liberal and radical millionaires gather together in one camp. Therefore the people are slowly mustering their forces over against them in the other. The masses against the classes! The fight has already begun. At present the latter have the advantage. They may even win the opening skirmishes. But in the great campaign for an educated, organized, democratic, industrial social republic now opened in Great Britain, the ultimate victory will to a certainty rest with the people. Even our enemies themselves feel that. They can hear, as we hear, the tramp of the innumerable battalions of the workers as they march themselves for the conquest of the future. In this great conflict even the Irish struggle for home rule is but an affair of outposts.

Scarcity itself is a calamity. To be cooped up in tenements is not the kind of life that is suited to free choice; a breathing space would be no small fortune to many in our

ANTAGONISMS IN THE SOCIAL FORCES.

An Analysis of Society Into Toilers and Non-Toilers—How the Few Are Able to Live at the Cost of the Many.

When Adam Smith pointed out what a vast advantage accrues to mankind from the division of labor, he first gave a clear indication of the grand harmonies existing in society. Other writers have followed in the same direction, and with much beauty and eloquence have pointed out what an inestimable blessing society is to itself. This department of economics has received very ample treatment. Indeed, so much has the attention of writers been fixed on these harmonies that a large majority teach either explicitly or by implication that harmony prevails throughout all our social organization, for they make no mention of antagonisms.

Some writers, indeed, go so far as to deny that there are antagonisms, and the few who have noticed and pointed out their existence have done so in a manner much more brief and meager than their importance deserves. In his celebrated illustration of the pin-makers, Smith showed that by the subdivision of labor the product was increased between two and three-hundred fold. In the same way the nailmakers' product is also increased. When, therefore, the pinmaker exchanges with the nailmaker each gives more and each receives more, each enriches and each is enriched—the benefit is mutual. This is a harmonious trade—toil for toil, burden for burden, service for service, reward for reward, enrichment for enrichment.

I shall endeavor to show (first) that there exists another kind of trade, not harmonious—mutually enriching, but antagonistic—enriching one by the impoverishment of another; (second) that the antagonistic trade is one of the most important factors in determining the condition of the bulk of humanity.

To prove the existence of such antagonism I ask attention to the following question:

In what length of time could society, by the utmost exertion of industry and frugality, accumulate sufficient supplies to maintain all succeeding generations free from toil? Obviously never. Each season brings its share of toil, and each year we consume the bulk of the product. Wonderful as have been the applications of steam and electricity, we have no indication that humanity will ever be exempted from toil. The physical law is inexorable: "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." But a portion of the race now enjoy incomes which exempt them from toil, and with every guarantee, so far as our laws and customs can guarantee anything, that such exemption shall continue to the end of time.

What are the only conclusions from these two considerations? First—One part of society now enjoys the privilege of appropriating an amount of wealth which could not by any possibility be the result of its own productive efforts. Second—This portion enjoys privileges from which the rest of society, by inexorable physical law, must forever be excluded. One part of society is exempted from toil; the whole cannot by any possibility obtain such exemption.

Whence comes this extraordinary division of society into toilers and idlers? This I shall try to explain.

Let me first state that distribution does not take place according to production. It is not "to every man according to his work." The real law of distribution recognized by our statutory laws is in accordance with the "growth or production of values." To understand the laws of distribution, therefore, we must examine the nature of value.

Why has a fresh egg value and an unseasonable egg none? Because the former possesses that quality called "utility" the latter does not.

Why has air, which has much utility, no value, while a diamond, with little utility, has very great value? The air is superabundant and immediately accessible, while diamonds are scarce.

Value, therefore, may arise in two ways. First, it may come by the production of utilities that are scarce, or second, it may arise from the scarcity of certain utilities.

Machinery is scarce. Toil takes the ore and converts it into a machine. This is one way of acquiring value by the path of utility.

Let a drought come until water sells, as it has sold sometimes in Australia, for three shillings a bucketful, and the value arises from the increased scarcity.

In the first case increased value is the sign of increased wealth; in the second it is the sign of decreased wealth. The first value requires toil; the second value requires no toil. To distinguish these two kinds of value, let us call the former "toil produced value," and the latter "scarcity value." The commodities included in the former are our food, clothing, buildings, machinery, etc., while the scarcity values include minerals, forests, water power, land, etc.

As distribution takes place according to the "production or growth of values," and values arise in two different ways, there are two different ways in which a person may acquire wealth:

1. By producing utilities, as houses, clothing, etc.

2. By holding some natural commodity that acquires value by becoming scarce, such as lands, mines, etc.

The first method requires toil. We can convert the crude ore into a machine, the raw cotton into a garment, only by toil. But the increased value of the town lots, the increased value of mines, or at least a large portion of these values, is due in no way to the labor of the holders of these lots or mines. Here, therefore, we may notice the most momentous result of this method of distribution, namely, the division of society into toilers and idlers; or, what is the same thing, the imposition of the whole toil of maintaining society on one part of the population, allowing the rest to enjoy a share of the product to the production of which they have contributed no effort.

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Labor-produced values are transient. The food of this season will be consumed by the next, the clothing will soon be worn out, buildings will crumble and decay, our dwellings and clothing will quickly become soiled, machines will rapidly wear out. To replace the worn-out or consumed, to repair the broken or decayed, requires toil, and we have no evidence that we can ever be free from the necessity for toil.

But some of the scarcity values do not possess this transitory character. The value of a city lot continues as long as the population clusters round that spot. It requires no effort to maintain its value, for it is not subject to decay or consumption, like other utilities. To allow such values to be appropriated by individuals, therefore, allows them not merely to become rich without effort, but allows their wealth to continue undiminished for ages. The division of society into toilers and idlers is thus perpetuated.

Let a drought come till water becomes a valuable commodity, then the populace become poorer in water. If a few individuals possess some unfailing spring, then the increased value of water would render these persons richer. Let population increase till land becoms relatively more scarce, the people are poorer in land; but values advance and the holders become richer. Here we notice a movement in society not mutually enriching, but enrichment of one part accompanied by the consequence of the impoverishment of the rest of the society. This is a movement not harmonious, but antagonistic, enriching one by impoverishing another.

Scarcity itself is a calamity. To be cooped up in tenements is not the kind of life that is suited to free choice; a breathing space would be no small fortune to many in our

most congested centers of population. But by our present system this calamity is not simple, but compounded and intensified.

Let population become dense, and we must not only crowd each other to the degree of discomfort and inconvenience, but we must furnish the owner of the land with wealth, in some cases to an enormous amount; we must board lodge and furnish him and his family, it may be in princely style. Two calamities—first crowding; second, tribute to idleness. First, impoverishment in space; second, impoverishment in surrender of produce to a non-producer. The calamity is compounded.

But this is not all. The division in society is still further intensified by another characteristic of the law of values. With increased population there is diminished competition for the sale of lands, forests, mines and water privileges. But increased population facilitates production of some commodities in two ways—first, by permitting better organization, and second, by permitting the more extended use of machinery. Hence, in the sale of labor-produced commodities there is intensified competition. The holders of scarcity values become richer in a compounded degree—first, by the advanced price of their own possessions, and second, by the diminished price of the commodities with which they are paid. As the brokers say, the market is "bullied" when they sell and "beared" when they buy. Thus is still further widened the breach between the toiler and the non-toiler.

Let me summarize this analysis. Value being the basis of distribution, and value depending on two conditions, may arise in two ways—first, production of utilities; second, scarcity of utilities. The former requires toil, the latter does not. Hence the division of society into toilers and idlers. Labor-produced values are transient, some scarcity values are permanent. Hence the perpetuation of the division of society into toilers and idlers. Scarcity is poverty, hence scarcity tends to depress society; but scarcity causes high values, hence the holders of these values become rich—a movement depressing one part of society and elevating another. The calamity of scarcity is compounded—first scarcity, a simple calamity; second, tribute to idleness, an additional calamity. This again is intensified by diminished competition in land sales and intensified competition in the sale of fabrics.

Alas! how little knowledge of these simple but far-reaching principles has been manifested by those in whose hands have been intrusted the destinies of nations. In the settlement of the new territories of this continent one of the grandest opportunities ever offered to mankind to lay the foundation in such a way that society would develop harmoniously has slipped by. What do we witness everywhere? The obligation of the toiler to yield up his product to a number of his fellow men, who are thus relieved more or less from the necessity of toil. As population increases this obligation increases; the mortgage on labor becomes greater and greater. Is it not true that labor is now mortgaged to the finger ends? And is it not also true that no amount of industry, frugality, improved education or better organization can remove this obligation? The only means of escape is by the resumption of the scarcity values by the public and thus cutting off the possibility of any able-bodied man escaping his fair share of toil. To obtain our method of distribution we must abolish the law of "distribution by values" and substitute the true law, "to each according to his work."

W. A. DOUGLASS.

REAL ESTATE BOOMS.

A Western Man Shows How They Rob Labor and Capital of Their Reward.

ST. PAUL, Neb., March 21.—In a conversation a few days ago concerning "real estate booms," I remarked that I thought it was a good time for men to exercise caution by putting their affairs into good order and preparing for a financial whirlwind that was sure to come after one of these "real estate booms." I have since read in THE STANDARD the article reprinted from the New York Stockholder, in which a similar view of the matter is taken; and the effect is seen to be an increased tax on industry and commerce imposed by the landlords in the shape of advanced rents. The principle is well illustrated in the western railroads, which charge "what the traffic will bear," and advance the rates for carrying produce as the price of the product advances in the eastern markets.

LONDON SOCIETY.

HOW WOMEN IN ENGLAND GET THROUGH LIFE.

Thankful for the Poorhouse—Rent Must Be Paid First of All—Two Dollars a Week for Sixteen Hours a Day—“Men I Do Not Taste for Weeks.”

Correspondent New York Herald.

The wretched pay of the London female workers and the crowds of vicious women who throng the London streets every evening are closely related as to cause and effect.

Any one inclined to impute the vice to natural viciousness can in half a day's inquiry among needle workers easily convince himself that this evil is largely due to poverty.

A more hopeless, helplessly wretched life than that led by an honest London needle woman is hard to imagine. The only cause for wonder is that any woman will stand such a life while she has it in her power to get even a few months' decent comfort.

In describing the lives of these needle workers I have chosen with some care typical cases from all of the branches—for sewers, bookbinders, dressmakers, upholsteresses, shirtmakers and tailoresses. With scarcely an exception the cases are taken from among workers in Oxford and Regent street shops, well known to all American visitors.

As a good type of the best style of living which can be expected by a London shirt and collar maker living entirely by her own labor take C. O. of Stanhope street, Regent's park. She is a widow, fifty-three years old, and has never been a week out of work for thirty-three years. She is so good a workwoman that she has scarcely changed her shop for twenty-three years: She said: “I am very fortunate, as I get steady work. I live alone in this little half bed room, for which I pay three shillings (seventy-five cents) a week.

“I have never earned more than fifteen shillings (\$3.75) a week. This is just enough to support me, and I can save nothing. I do not bother about the details of my spendings. I would go out of my mind if I tried to plan ahead.

“I breakfast at half past 7 on bread, butter and tea. I have never had anything else for breakfast. If I had I could not have brought up my children. I have a twenty-minute walk to my work, which begins at half-past 2. I have never eaten lunch in my life. Dinner is from 12 to half-past 12. In my shop there are about thirty women. We each give 3d. (6 cents) to a woman, who buys meat and vegetables for all. The janitress of the building does the cooking. In other shops they have to pay as much as sixpence (12 cents) each for dinner, but in our shop we are more like friends. We have all worked there for eleven years together.

“Tea is from 3 to half-past 3, and consists of bread and tea. I stop work at 7. My supper is of bread and butter, with tea or coffee. I never have more than one hot meal a day. Working women can't afford more, you know.

“When my work is done I must go to the poorhouse, but I shall work as long as I can move arms and legs. My sons have families and will not be able to help me. The prospect of dying in the poorhouse does not trouble me. It's very good that there is a place for poor people to go when they are past work. I wasn't quite so well satisfied with the prospect when I first thought of it. I used to have many a bitter cry by my bedside about it; but I am quite reconciled now.”

From a member of the Shirt and Collar makers' society I get the following facts:

“Poor pay rather than lack of work is the crying evil of the trade. Pay is by the piece generally, and ranges from 12s. to 15s. (\$3 to \$3.75) per week in the west end. Shirts are made in the east end for 2d. (4 cents) each, from which cotton must be found. Six shirts make a long day's work. Button holes (in shirts and collars) are made at 1d. (2 cents) to 4d. (8 cents) a dozen. The average earnings are 8s. per week for from twelve to sixteen hours a day.”

Of the one thousand shirtmakers known to my informant not one has saved great misery. Among the fur sewers I found great misery. E. S. of Buckland street, Hoxton, and her sister, a girl of sixteen, will serve as samples. E. S. is a widow, twenty-nine years old, of thoroughly good character and a hard, steady worker. She lives in an eight by twelve foot back bedroom. This is her workroom, kitchen and living room. For it she pays 3s. (75 cents) a week. The furniture is scant and shabby. Fur clippings fill the room.

E. S. said: “I have worked at my trade since I was eleven years old, and have done all kinds of fur sewing. We get six months' work in summer, but in winter, from lord mayor's day on, there is almost no work. My highest wages during the past year were 8s. (\$2 a week). My average earnings would be 6s. per week. Formerly trade was very good. I used to think nothing of earning as much as 12s. to 14s. (\$3 to \$3.50) a week. When I earned 10s. a week I could save for the dull season.

“My breakfast, lunch, tea and supper are of bread and tea only. For dinner I get half a penny piece of fish. Meat I do not taste for weeks. People say you can't live without meat, but I know I can. A penny's worth of potatoes make a nice change from bread when I can afford it. Rent must be paid first of all. Of course, if I get any money I think of my rent first of all, as I can't live on the streets. My food has cost me as low as 6s. (45 cents) a week. I don't know how I lived on this, but I did. My clothing never costs me over 4s. (\$10) a year. I paid 16s. for the stuff in this dress and 6s. 6d. to my sister for making it. I paid her 1s. per week until I made up the 6s. 6d. I have worn this dress for two years. It's the only one I have. I pay 6s. 6d. (\$1.50) a pair for boots. There is a place where they let you have the boots for a shilling down and a shilling a week afterward. That is, of course, when they know you. Hundreds of women buy their boots in this way. I don't know how I could ever get boots any other way. I never could save 6s.

“I don't know how I shall live this winter. I never have starved to death yet. Perhaps I shan't this winter, but I have never had so little work and such bad pay. I walk and walk, but nobody wants a hand.”

The sister, a pretty girl of sixteen, is entirely without money or work. She has worked at four trades, all sewing, but can now find no work of any kind.

M. K., of the Minories, is a good instance of a “city” sewing woman. She is unmarried, and lives alone in a room, for which she pays 8s. 6d. (60 cents) a week.

By looking over her employer's books I found that her average wages for the last three months had been 7s. 6d. (\$1.50) a week. She has had ten weeks' work out of the last twelve. She spends under 4s. (\$10) a year on dress, and lives on 6s. 6d. a week all told. She managed, therefore, to save 1s. (25 cents) a week when in work, but spent it all when out of work. She eats no meat. Tea and bread are eaten twice a day. Tea, bread and either fish or cheese form the other two meals when finances allow the latter luxuries. She goes to church on Sunday, but has no other relaxations.

Among the upholsterers I found a decided unwillingness to describe their work and pay, because “some one will know I told you, and then they won't give me no work any more,” as one upholsterer said to me.

A. M., of High street, Camden Town, will serve as a type of the best hand worker. She is unmarried; has worked for twenty-six

years for prominent West end dealers. She said:

“I have these two rooms, for which I pay 6s. a week. My mother, who is seventy-five years old, lives with me, but earns nothing. I earn 15s. (\$3.75) a week, and on this we both live. For twenty-six years I have never had a week's holiday. As a result of twenty-six years' work I have saved nothing, and now owe £5 for rent. This is in spite of the fact that I have sold from time to time part of my mother's household goods to pay rent. Trade is bad but not at its worst. January to the 1st of March is the dull season, and it is a frightful time for upholsterers. I live as all other sewers live—largely on bread and tea. Work is becoming hard to get. Young women with young eyes are preferred by employers, even when they have had no experience. When we are old we must go to the workhouse. I expect to go to the workhouse myself, although I would rather go to the bottom of the canal. I have kept my mother away from the poorhouse, however.

“I am glad the socialists smashed the store windows last fall. It did more good than harm. People do not object to our starving so long as we starve quietly. So it is well to make a row once in a while.”

DRESSMAKERS AND MILLINERS.

The society of dressmakers, milliners and mantlemakers has only thirty-four members, and has never had more than one hundred. A forewoman who has spent her life in efforts to aid the workers in these trades has given me the following facts:

“We are the largest body of female workers in London, but we are so split up into sections by class feelings and jealousies that we cannot organize any large union. ‘Indoor workers’ will not associate with ‘outdoor workers.’ Workers on fine goods despise workers on coarse goods, and will not even belong to different branches of the same society.

“Indoor workers are those women who live in barracks provided, by the firm. They are paid by the year from £16 to £22 (\$80 to \$110), with board and lodgings. They work from half-past 8 a. m. to 8 p. m., with considerable overtime during the ball season. Insiders are fairly well fed, and the dormitories are comfortable enough now. From four to ten women sleep in a room. Many large shops provide a sitting room with a piano and library. The sexes are not allowed to mingle at all in these rooms. Most of the large shops on Oxford and Regent streets are managed in this way. Their workrooms are often unhealthy and badly lighted, but their employees have constant work, with some amusement and comfort. It is the outworkers who suffer most. Outworkers either work by the week in the shop, sleeping at home, or else take work to their homes. They earn from 8s. to 20s. a week.

“Germans have lately introduced the sweating system into the west end, and wages have begun to fall in consequence.”

The tailoresses have 150 members in their society, but their east end branch has only eight members. Trade is in a wretched condition, and foreigners working under the sweating system have reduced wages almost to starvation point in the east end. In the west end it is said to be the best paid woman's trade in London. Wages there run from 9s. to 25s. a week. Rents are very high, however, and the women must live near their work. The progress of a tailoress or shirtmaker from fine work and short hours, while her eyes are good, to coarse work and a wretched lodging house, as she grows old was quite graphically told to me by a woman who knows the ins and outs of these trades. This is said to be the universal history of London needful women. There is no place in the business for old women or old eyes, so it is a progress from bad pay to worse, and from discomfort to wretchedness, with the workhouse as an ending.

“The women bookbinders also live wretchedly. The work is mainly piece work, and is done under a middleman or sweater. The pay ranges from 7s. to 18s. a week. Fifteen shillings a week is the average through the trade.

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